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MONTEREY, CALIFORNIA

THESIS

COUNTERINSURGENCY AND ITS IMPLICATIONS FOR THE NORWEGIAN SPECIAL OPERATIONS FORCES

by

Petter Hellesen

June 2008

Thesis Advisor:	Hy S. Rothstein
Second Reader:	Doug Borer

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13. ABSTRACT

This study explores the Norwegian Special Operations Forces' capabilities to cope with today's security environment which is characterized more by unorthodox threats like, for example, insurgencies, and less by "conventional" wars between nation states. Thus, this study raises the hypothesis that that the Norwegian Special Operations Forces (NORSOF) is less than optimally suited for counterinsurgency operations.

Using the dichotomy of a direct approach vs. an indirect approach as a framework for how NORSOF conducts operations, this author claims that NORSOF mainly has focused on direct capabilities and less so on indirect capabilities, the latter which experience has proved to be so effective and efficient in counterinsurgency operations. Analysis of the characteristics of insurgency and how to counter it leads to the conclusion that NORSOF will enhance its relevance and efficacy if it also acquires indirect capabilities and thus can employ both a direct as well as an indirect approach, depending on the situation. However, although NORSOF may play an important role in counterinsurgency operations, there are several limitations that inhibit NORSOF's role in this type of operations. Accordingly, NORSOF's operations must be seen in the larger context of how to effectively quell an insurgency.

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COUNTERINSURGENCY AND ITS IMPLICATIONS FOR THE NORWEGIAN SPECIAL OPERATIONS FORCES

Petter Hellesen
Commander, Royal Norwegian Navy
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Submitted in partial fulfillment of the
requirements for the degree of

MASTER OF SCIENCE IN DEFENSE ANALYSIS

from the

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ABSTRACT

This study explores the Norwegian Special Operations Forces' capabilities to cope with today's security environment, which is characterized more by unorthodox threats like, for example, insurgencies, and less by "conventional" wars between nation states. Thus, this study raises the hypothesis that the Norwegian Special Operations Forces (NORSOF) is less than optimally suited for counterinsurgency operations.

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

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LIST OF FIGURES

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LIST OF TABLES

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ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

This study is an attempt to flesh out a framework for better understanding the unorthodox threats resulting from the changing security environment, and, moreover, to suggest some changes that can enhance Norway and its Special Operations Forces' capabilities to deal with these threats. My background from the Norwegian Special Operations community has led to some reflections on these issues. These reflections were further refined throughout my time at the Department of Defense Analysis at the Naval Postgraduate School.

I would therefore like to thank the faculty at the Department of Defense Analysis for their contribution to providing me with some frameworks for thinking about the unorthodox threats of today and tomorrow, and how to best counter them. I would especially thank Professor Hy Rothstein and Professor Doug Borer for their contribution to this thesis.

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I.   THE RELEVANCE OF COUNTERINSURGENCY

A.   INTRODUCTION

Since the end of the Cold War, one of the most controversial issues in the Norwegian defense and security policy has been the issue of the role of the Norwegian Armed Forces (NAF). Should they have a purely domestic focus, or in the absence of any direct threat, a more international focus. The latter view has prevailed. Since 2001, the NAF have been undergoing one of the most extensive public reorganizations in modern Norwegian history.[1] The overarching goal of this reorganization has been to change the NAF from its threat-based organizational structure developed during the Cold War to a capability-based structure which can meet diffuse challenges in a new security environment.[2] This reorganization notwithstanding, Norway has for a long time contributed forces to operations abroad, currently most notable in Afghanistan. This includes Norwegian Special Operations Forces (NORSOF).[3] Moreover, NORSOF has in later years been designated as a joint strategic force of considerable importance to Norway.[4] As a corollary to this, in the future, NORSOF is likely to be frequently deployed to various conflicts, and thus play an instrumental role in the Norwegian security and defense policy.

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[1] Forsvarsdepartementet, Den videre moderniseringen av Forsvaret i perioden 2005-2008 [Modernizing the Armed Forces 2005-2008], Parliamentary Bill no. 42 (2003-2004), Regjeringen (Ministry of Defense [Online 10 Jan, 2007]), p. 9; Forsvarsdepartementet; Et forsvar til vern om Norges sikkerhet, interesser og verdier [A Defense for the Protection of Norway's Security, Interests and Values], Parliamentary Bill no. 48 (2007-2008), Regjeringen (Ministry of Defense [Online 21 May 2008]), p. 10.

[2] Forsvarsdepartementet, "Relevant Force: Strategic Concept for the Norwegian Armed Forces", Regjeringen, 2004 (Ministry of Defense [Online 25 Jan 2008]), 11-12.

[3] In this study NORSOF is used exclusively as a common term for the two tactical units Marinejegerkommandoen (MJK) and Forsvarets Spesialkommando/Hærens Jegerkommando (FSK/HJK). The term NORSOF was first used when both units deployed to Afghanistan in 2001/2002 in support of Operation Enduring Freedom. NORSOF is now a common term for the two units. It is also worth mentioning that since then, the Air Force has been tasked to stand up a SOF-capable helicopter unit, 137 Special Operations Air Wing. However, this unit will not be explicitly discussed in this study as it still is under formation, and, moreover, its role is mainly to support SOF and conventional units.

[4] Forsvarsdepartementet, Den videre moderniseringen av Forsvaret i perioden 2005-2008, 53-54.

Due to the nature of some of these conflicts and the role Norwegian forces have played in them, a question arises that until now has not been given any particular attention. That is the question of what implications does it have for NORSOF to participate in counterinsurgency operations? The purpose of this study is to study NORSOF in a counterinsurgency environment in order to determine if there are any changes to the doctrine, operational concepts, training, or tactics, techniques and procedures (TTPs) that should be implemented in order to enhance NORSOF's efficacy in counterinsurgency operations. I hypothesize that NORSOF is less than optimally suited for counterinsurgency operations. NORSOF's capabilities are therefore not consistent with today's security environment which is characterized more by unorthodox threats like for example insurgencies, international terrorism ,etc., and less by "conventional" wars between nation states.[5] One of the major distinctions between these two forms of conflict is that in the latter, a direct approach and kinetic operations are fundamental; while in the former, an indirect approach and non-kinetic operations often are more favorable. This being said, it is not a question of purely a kinetic or non-kinetic approach, but more a question of a proper balance between the two approaches in which one is more predominant because of the nature of the conflict.

There is no doubt that during the last decade, NORSOF has been strengthened both in terms of personnel and equipment. However, the question this study seeks to answer is what can be done to improve NORSOF's ability to face today's unorthodox challenges where an indirect approach and non-kinetic kinetic operations often are a prerequisite for success.

Fleshing out a broad and theoretical connection between NORSOF and counterinsurgency is no easy task. I do not presume to provide the magical answer in this study. What I do hope to offer is a critical first step, a theoretical approach to understand why and how counterinsurgency affects NORSOF.

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[5] See among others James D. Fearon and David D. Laitin, "Ethnicity, Insurgency, and Civil War," *American Political Science Review* Vol. 97, No. 1 (Feb. 2003): 75-90; and Hy S. Rothstein, *Afghanistan and the Troubled Future of Unconventional Warfare* (Annapolis: Naval Institute Press, 2006).

B.   THE PROBLEM

Insurgency is hardly a new phenomenon, and, more importantly, it has probably been the most prevalent form of violent conflict since the creation of organized political communities.[6] The latter is especially true for the twentieth century and onward. During the Second World War there was such an upsurge in guerrilla warfare and insurgency that the renown military theorist Captain B. Liddell-Hart argued that "…guerrilla warfare became so widespread as to be an almost universal feature. It developed in all the European countries that were occupied by the Germans and most of the far eastern countries occupied by the Japanese…"[7] This continued on after the war and well until the mid-1970s as the former colonies one after another sought their independence; many by insurgency or a war of liberation.

As the Cold War was at its height, most countries' main focus was on large conventional wars and less so on "small wars." This resulted in the common assumption that counterinsurgency was a niche and, consequently, that conventional military operations were much more in demand. This is an old and common assumption, but arguably a wrong one. Already in 1962, Bernard Fall[8] predicted that the world was now entering "the century of insurgencies." In 1991, the noted military theorist Martin van Creveld argued in his book, "The Transformation of War" that as the Cold War came to an end, conventional war as we knew it was on its decline, and that small wars would dominate future warfare.[9] Admittedly, he must be said to have been correct in his assessment, as we have seen less conventional wars between states and more small wars like civil wars, insurgencies, and more recently, the "Global War on Terror." Thus, one

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[6] Bard E. O'Neill, *Insurgency & Terrorism: From Revolution to Apocalypse* (Washington D.C.: Potomac Books, Inc, 2005), 1.

[7] J. Paul de B. Taillon, *The Evolution of Special Forces in Counter-Terrorism: The British and American Experiences* (Westport, Connecticut: Praeger Publishers), 14-15.

[8] Bernard Fall was a French war journalist who wrote extensively on the war in Indochina and Vietnam. One of his most notable books, "Street Without Joy," described the French effort to fight the Viet Minh in Indochina became a best seller. Fall was killed in Vietnam in 1967 by on a landmine when covering the war.

[9] Martin van Creveld, *The Transformation of War* (New York: The Free Press, 1991).

cannot expect that there will be less demand for counterinsurgency capabilities in the future. The British, for example, has since 1945, been continuously involved in "low intensity operations",[10] in which counterinsurgency falls under.

Most countries have had problems coming to grips with insurgencies, as manifested by the French, American and Soviet defeats in Indochina, Vietnam and Afghanistan respectively. The current insurgencies in Afghanistan and Iraq serve as disheartening reminders of how little we have learned from history. The American experience of counterinsurgency support, which has been part of American strategy since the 1960s, is a recipe for ineffectiveness or failure.[11] Arguably, this applies to most countries. Moreover, history shows us that countries engaged in counterinsurgency have learned very little from each other's experiences, as most counterinsurgents have applied the wrong strategy, forces and tactics. The common way to fight insurgencies has been to view them as small wars - conventional conflicts, albeit with a lesser scale and intensity. This approach is wrong, as insurgencies have distinct characteristics which are quite different from conventional wars, and thus require a different approach, as will be discussed in this study.

The changed security environment in the wake of al-Qaeda's attack on the U.S. homeland September 11, 2001, has brought this problem even closer to Norway. As a result of this attack, NORSOF deployed to Afghanistan in early 2002 as part of the U.S. led Operation Enduring Freedom (OEF).[12] Since then, Norway has continually had forces in Afghanistan as part of OEF or the NATO led International Security Assistance Force (ISAF). Although Norwegian conventional forces have constituted the majority of Norwegian personnel in Afghanistan, NORSOF has had several substantial subsequent deployments to Afghanistan.

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[10] Taillon, 1.

[11] Steven Metz and Raymond A. Millen, "Insurgency and Counterinsurgency in the 21st Century: Reconceptualizing Threat and Response," *Special Warfare*, Vol. 17, No. 3. 2005, 6.

[12] Forsvaret, "Spesialstyrker til Afghanistan" [Special Operations Forces to Afghanistan], *Forsvarsnett* (Norwegian Defense [online 16 Jan 2008]).

As a corollary to the changed security environment where insurgencies flourish, and maybe more importantly, that Norwegian forces for years have been involved in combating the Taliban insurgency in Afghanistan, one should expect that insurgency and counterinsurgency were topics that were subject to both a Norwegian military professional as well as a more scholarly debate. Remarkably, this is not the case as both topics currently receive little attention in Norway.[13] What makes this an even greater paradox, is that the Norwegians themselves have five years of firsthand experience as insurgents fighting against Nazi occupiers[14]. This insurgency, although it did not amount to much against the powerful Nazis, reaped much recognition from rest of the world. President Roosevelt for example on several occasions praised the Norwegian resistance fight, most notably in his "Look to Norway" speech in September 1942, in which he among other things proclaimed that:

If there is anyone who still wonders why this war is being fought, let him look to Norway. If there is anyone who has any delusions that this war could have been averted, let him look to Norway; and if there is anyone who doubts the democratic will to win, again I say, let him look to Norway.

Needless to say, this speech served as an inspiration to freedom fighters in Norway as well as in the rest of the occupied Europe.[15]

Because of insurgencies continuing and predicted future importance, and the likelihood of NORSOF being involved in some of them, this subject deserves serious and

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[13] The new Joint Doctrine breaks with the former in that it acknowledges that today's security environment is more complex than earlier presumed. Thus it is also concerned with combating irregular forces. Another exception is Professor Nils Marius Rekkedal who has published some articles on the subject. Se for example: Nils Marius Rekkedal. "Trekk ved opprør og opprørsbekjempelse" [Characteristics of Insurgency and Counterinsurgency], *Norsk militært tidsskrift* [Norwegian Military Review] Vol. 12 2004, 22-27.

[14] It is worth noting that the Norwegian resistance movement operated on behalf of the Norwegian Government which was in exile in Great Britain. This insurgency is therefore somewhat different from most of the other insurgencies this study refers to as these insurgent movements do not represent a legitimate power.

[15] Another who might have been inspired by this speech is the noted American novelist, John Steinbeck who in 1942 published his book "The Moon is Down" (translated to Norwegian in 1945) which is about Norwegian villagers resisting their German occupiers.

systematic analysis. In this study, I set forth a way to do precisely that. This study is written for the Norwegian special operations operator of today to help him prepare for the operations of tomorrow.

C.   PURPOSE, SCOPE AND QUESTIONS

The purpose of this thesis is to study NORSOF in a counterinsurgency environment in order to determine if there are any changes to the doctrine, operational concepts, training, or tactics, techniques and procedures (TTPs) that should be implemented in order to enhance NORSOF's efficacy.

The scope of this study is to consider NORSOF and its capability to operate effectively in a counterinsurgency environment.

The central question this study seeks to answer is therefore: How can NORSOF be made optimally suited for effective counterinsurgency operations? In order to answer this question, this study has been organized to address four issues:

- Is there a need for a NORSOF counterinsurgency capability?
- How does NORSOF's understanding of counterinsurgency match with historic best practices of how to combat insurgency?
- What are the changes that can be made that will enhance NORSOF's efficacy in counterinsurgency operations?
- What are the limitations concerning NORSOF's roles or capabilities regarding counterinsurgency?

Chapter II will start with an outline of what the terms insurgency and counterinsurgency and some related terms imply. This outline is necessary since there seems to be some confusion, both academically and doctrinally concerning these terms. This clarification is also a prerequisite for the ensuing discussion to be clear. Existing literature on the subject, along with current doctrines, national as well as allied, will therefore be examined in order to clarify these and similar terms. In the second part of this chapter the first question of this study will be addressed specifically; i.e., is there a need for NORSOF to inhibit a counterinsurgency capability? Although this introduction alludes to the answer being yes, this question is so fundamental that it needs to be

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discussed in more detail. Literature describing the current and future security environment, current doctrines, national and allied, will therefore be examined along with national governmental whitepapers. In Chapter III, the nature and characteristics of insurgency will be described in detail using existing literature. Questions like: What causes men to revolt; what strategies do insurgents employ; what doctrine do they follow; and what are the prerequisites for a successful insurgency; are all important questions that need to be answered in order to effectively counter the insurgency at hand. Like a physician treating an illness, the counterinsurgent needs to know as much about the particular ailment as possible in order to find the most effective treatment.

Likewise, in Chapter IV, the characteristics of a successful counterinsurgency will be outlined in detail. Also here, current and allied doctrine as well as existing literature on the subject will be analyzed. Successful counterinsurgent strategies and tactics will be examined. This chapter will also emphasize historic and contemporary counterinsurgency operations, successful as well as failed ones, in order to describe "best practice."

Chapter V will begin with a discussion of the second question this study addresses: How does NORSOF's understanding of counterinsurgency match with historic best practices of how to combat insurgency? I will then answer the third question: Are there any changes that can be made that will enhance NORSOF's efficacy in counterinsurgency operations? This discussion will be centered on doctrine, operational concepts, training, and TTPs. I will not discuss possible organizational changes to NORSOF as this issue already has been succinctly analyzed.[16] Then follows a discussion of question four: What are the limitations concerning NORSOF's roles or capabilities regarding counterinsurgency? This question is of particular interest given Norway's relatively small military. Finally, I will end this chapter with a conclusion and some recommendations as well as some suggestions for future research.

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[16] See Tom Robertsen, *Making New Ambitions Work: The Transformation of Norwegian Special Operations Forces* (Oslo: Norwegian Institute for Defence Studies, 2007).

D.   ON LITERATURE

The principal method used to answer these questions consists of reviewing existing former and current doctrines and practices as well as literature on the subject. Both national and allied doctrines are essential in this examination. Likewise, both national practice and that of other countries will be analyzed. As for academic literature on the subject, James J. Witz in 1988 commented that: "Compared to the sustained attention given to nuclear strategy and large scale conventional wars, academic interest in counterinsurgency has been sporadic, even though low-intensity conflict has been common throughout the postwar era."[17] Since then, however, internationally both SOF and counterinsurgency have been the subject of a growing academic interest. As for SOF, the 1992 Gulf War was a watershed. Before then, SOF was not universally recognized as a force of particular value except for very specific missions. Largely because of the successes of U.S. and UK SOF in this war, this view changed in the aftermath of this conflict resulting in that today, most Western countries value their SOF not only as among their most prestigious units, but very often also as perhaps their most versatile and useful military tool. As for counterinsurgency, this has historically only been given sporadic attention, and then usually related to the British experience in Malaya, the French experiences in Indochina and Algeria, and the American experience in Vietnam. The recent GWOT with the ensuing insurgency in Afghanistan and Iraq has, however, spawned an abundance of literature on the subject.

Nationally, however, the situation must be categorized as somewhat bleaker. On the one hand, due to NORSOF's deployments to various conflicts, beginning in the mid-1990s, NORSOF has become increasingly visible in the national media.[18] Moreover, since then, NORSOF has also been increasingly elevated in importance in, e.g., national

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[17] James J. Wirtz, "Counterinsurgency Paradigms," *International Security* Vol. 14, No. 1. (Summer, 1989): 184.

[18] Robertsen, 14.

whitepapers.[19] Interestingly, this does not seem to have led to a thorough professional or academic debate about NORSOF and its roles in contemporary conflicts.[20] The media have on their part mostly focused on the secrecy that normally has surrounded these operations. Another subject has been the speculations by some politicians about possible operational misuse of NORSOF while deployed. As for the national defense and political documents, these have mostly focused on organizational issues like a possible merge of the different units, base localization, the units' size etc.; and to a lesser degree about what roles NORSOF should play as part of the military component of statecraft.

Partly as a result of secrecy, and partly because of the lack of public debate, both academically and military professionally, there is very little written not only about NORSOF in a strategic context but also about NORSOF's tactical experiences in the Balkans and Afghanistan or the two units' history. One exception to the latter is a book on Norwegian Naval Diving, written by a former frogman, Erling Krange which includes the early history of the naval component of NORSOF. Another exception is a book about NORSOF written by the journalist Tom Bakkeli in 2007. Although the latter book describes various aspects of NORSOF's training, operations, etc., this book will not be used as a source as it is an unofficial account which is not endorsed by the NAF. A better source is the monograph "Making New Ambitions Work: The Transformation of Norwegian Special Operations Forces," written by Tom Robertsen and published by the Norwegian Institute for Defense Studies.[21] In this monograph the author examines NORSOF's history, roles and missions, and more importantly, how NORSOF best can transform to meet today's security environment. As for a Norwegian scholarly debate of insurgency and counterinsurgency, this can best be described as almost non existent. One

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[19] See for example: Forsvarsdepartementet; Forsvarssjefens militærfaglige utredning 2003 [Defense Study 2003], Forsvarsnett (Norwegian Defense [online 21 May 2008]), 11; Forsvarsdepartementet, "Relevant Force: Strategic Concept for the Norwegian Armed Forces", Regjeringen, 2004 (Ministry of Defense [Online 25 Jan 2008]), 74; Forsvarsdepartementet, Den videre moderniseringen av Forsvaret i perioden 2005-2008, 55-56; Forsvarsdepartementet; Et forsvar til vern om Norges sikkerhet, interesser og verdier, 74.

[20] One notable exception is: Magne Rødahl and Erik Dokken, "Norske Spesialstyrker I fremtidige internasjonale fredsoperasjoner" [Norwegian Special Operations Forces in Future International Peace Operations], *Norsk Militært Tidsskrift* [Norwegian Military Review], No. 10, 1998, 4-13.

[21] Robertsen.

exception is the scholar Nils Marius Rekkedal who has published some on irregular warfare and asymmetric warfare. A cursory review of *Norsk Militært Tidskrift* (Norwegian Military Journal), which is the most prominent Norwegian defense magazine, reveals, for example, only one article on insurgency and counterinsurgency.[22]

As a corollary to the relatively sparsely Norwegian literature on NORSOF and counterinsurgency, I will therefore have to mainly draw upon international literature and other countries' experiences, most notable the United States, the United Kingdom and France as these countries since 1945 have gained considerable experience in fighting insurgencies, and thus have fostered analysts and writers with a thorough knowledge of the subject at hand. Although these and similar countries vary greatly from Norway with regard to foreign policy, size of military forces, capabilities, etc., I will argue that it is possible to induce certain principles from these countries' traditions and experiences, some of which will also apply to Norway in general and NORSOF in specific. Or as the scholar Bard E. O'Neill nicely put it: "Those responsible for counterinsurgency strategy and planning can thus benefit enormously from serious study and analysis of other governments' experiences."[23]

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[22] Rekkedal, 22-27.

[23] O'Neill, 188.

II. NORWAY AND COUNTERINSURGENCY

A. TERMS AND DEFINITIONS

When writing on the subject of this study, one of the first problems one encounter concerns the matter of terminology. Small wars, low-intensity conflicts, asymmetrical warfare, unconventional warfare (UW), irregular warfare (IW), guerrilla warfare, and counterinsurgency are but a few of the terms that have been used to describe the matter at hand. Although they all have some differences, they also share some common traits. Thus the various policy makers, analysts and authors seem to choose terms based on the subject under investigation, the era it is written in, as well as their own preferences. Consequently, at times the terms have been used helter-skelter and thus resulting in some confusion. It is therefore pertinent to briefly describe the aforementioned terms. This being said, given the length of this study, it is not possible to neither give a detailed description of them nor to outline all their various meanings.

In 1906 Colonel Charles C. E. Callwell advised in his classic book "Small Wars: Their Principles and Practice" that: "The expression "small war" has in reality no particular connection with the scale on which any campaign may be carried out; it is simply used to denote, in default of a better, operations of regular armies against irregular, or comparatively irregular forces."[24] As the twentieth century progressed, with two world wars and the ensuing Cold War; colonial wars, which Small Wars initially was written for, large and conventional wars between nation states became more dominant. However, with the rise in wars of independence in the wake of the Second World War; when classifying the conflict as a small war or not, the scale of the conflict was usually more determining than the type of forces involved. The reason for this was that this era was characterized by the bipolarization of the world, with large conventional forces on each side facing each other. As a corollary to this, any conflict where national survival of

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[24] Charles, E. Callwell, *Small Wars: Their Principles and Practice* (Lincoln and London: University of Nebraska Press, 1996), 21.

the major contending parties was not at stake was therefore usually inhibited in some way or another by one or both sides in order not to provoke a major conflict. Consequently these conflicts were often coined "small wars."

Another common term for such conflicts in the latter half of the twentieth century is "low-intensity conflict." The idea behind this term is usually that wars of liberation, etc., were normally of lesser intensity than a possible war between the main contenders in this East vs. West competition. The metrics for intensity was usually casualties on each side, and this was often set to be 1,000.[25]

Asymmetrical warfare is also often used to denote this form of conflict. This term refers to the fact that irregular forces like insurgents because of their weakness relative to their opponents usually employs a strategy, doctrine or TTPs that are asymmetric compared to that of their opponents. Thus, the insurgents compensate for some of their weakness. I will, however, argue that asymmetrical warfare in this context is more a way of waging war than a form of war.

UW is another often used term and it has several connotations. The scholar Hy S. Rothstein employs it as a generic term to the variety of ambiguous ill-defined smaller scale-conflicts that often straddles between an uneasy peace and not quite war.[26] Central to Rothstein's definition is that these conflicts do not follow the conventions of military conflict characterized by head on engagements by large state controlled conventional military formations following the established conventions for the conduct of warfare. U.S. doctrine, on the other hand, defines UW slightly differently.[27]

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[25] See, for example: Frank R. Pfetsch & Christoph Rohloff, "Kosimo: A Databank on Political Conflict," *Journal of Peaceresearch* Vol 37, no 3, 2000: 379-389.

[26] Rothstein, 16.

[27] See Joint Publication 1-02, DOD Dictionary of Military Terms, electronic edition as amended through 31 August 2005.

Guerrilla Warfare[28] is also a term that has been used extensively to denote the subject under investigation. It is a form of warfare, meaning a technique or method used to pursue an objective.[29] This objective has usually been to overthrow a regime and seize the power. Guerrilla warfare is usually employed by small bands of irregulars fighting a superior army and thus has to rely on asymmetry to outweigh this disadvantage. It has been the preferred method of seizing power by such diverse revolutionaries as Mao Tse-tung, Vo Nguyen Giap, Fidel Castro and Che Guevara, to mention but a few of the most notorious ones.

Irregular Warfare[30] is another old term that recently has come into vogue again, much thanks to the recently published U.S. Multi-Service Concept for Irregular Warfare.[31] This concept sees IW as"…an armed political struggle for power, and it must be met by an armed political counter."[32] More importantly from a Norwegian perspective, however, is that the latest version of *Forsvarets Fellesoperative Doktrine* (Norwegian Joint Doctrine), issued in 2007, for the first time describes IW. This doctrine lists IW as one of four types of operations the NAF must be able to conduct abroad. Although this updated version of the Norwegian Joint Doctrine does not define IW specifically, it gives a brief description of what it means by irregular forces, their tactic and how they may be combated. Moreover, it points out that although fighting irregular forces may fall within the category described as stability operations, this doctrine considers it as its own category of operations because the level of force required generally will be more extensive than what is the case in stability operations.[33]

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[28] For a good account of the history of guerrilla warfare, see among other Azeem Ibrahim, "Conceptualization of Guerrilla Warfare," *Small Wars and Insurgencies*, Vol. 15, No. 3 (Winter 2004) 112-124.

[29] Ibrahim, 112.

[30] For a discussion of irregular warfare see among other Colin S. Gray, "Irregular Warfare: One Nature, Many Characters," *Strategic Studies Quarterly* (Winter 2007): 35-46.

[31] U.S. Marine Corps Combat Development Command and U.S. Special Operations Command Center for Knowledge and Futures. Multi-Service Concept for Irregular Warfare, August 2006.

[32] Ibid., iii.

[33] Forsvarsstaben, Forsvarets Fellesoperative Doktrine [Joint Doctrine] (Oslo, 2007), 28.

Insurgency and counterinsurgency are also commonly used designations that describe the subject of this study. An insurgent movement, according to the Norwegian Joint Doctrine is "…an organized force which seeks power centrally or regionally."[34] Moreover, this doctrine considers insurgent movements as a subcategory of irregular forces, and, consequently, counterinsurgency is a subset of IW. NATO defines operations against insurgent movements as counterinsurgency operations.[35] Counterinsurgency operations combine military, diplomatic and economic means which are directed towards combating the movement, its external support and support from the local populace.[36] Although all the previously described terms share common traits and thus to a large degree are overlapping, insurgency and counterinsurgency are the terms that I find most useful when discussing the subject of this investigation. Consequently, I will use these terms throughout this study.

Insurgency is defined as: "An organized movement aimed at the overthrow of a constituted government through the use of subversion and armed conflict".[37]

Counterinsurgency is defined as: "Those military, paramilitary, political, economic, psychological, and civic actions taken by a government to defeat insurgency."[38]

To summarize, the above list of terms serve as the basis for a discussion of the types of operations that NORSOF will inevitably be tasked to conduct. The lack of precision, limited clarity, and wide-spread contestation over what these terms mean are illustrative of the ambiguous and dynamic nature of the types of warfare that Norway's defense community will face in the 21st Century.

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[34] Forsvarsstaben, Forsvarets Fellesoperative Doktrine, 42.

[35] Ibid., 42.

[36] Ibid.

[37] Joint Publication 1-02, 1-104; NATO: AAP-6 (2007), 2-I-5.

[38] Joint Publication 1-02, 1-47; AAP-6, NATO Terms and Glossary of Definitions, (Mons: NATO, 2007), 2-C-17. (NATO's definition varies slightly from the American definition in that NATO has left out the words "by a government" and thus has broadened the definition somewhat.)

B.   IS THERE A NEED FOR A NORSOF COUNTERINSURGENCY CAPABILITY?

When answering this question, I find it instructive to first briefly analyze the current and future security environment. Second, it is imperative to investigate Norway's goals and ambitions with its security and defense policy. Finally, I will examine the Allied need for a NORSOF counterinsurgency capability.

As alluded to in the introduction, the latter half of the twentieth century saw far more intra-state wars than inter-state wars. In their study of civil war, the scholars James Fearon and David Laitin[39] found that between 1945 and 1999, there were 25 interstate wars[40] resulting in a total of about 3.33 million battle deaths. These wars involved just 25 states and had a median duration of not quite 3 months. In contrast, in the same period there were roughly 127 civil wars[41], 25 of them were ongoing in 1999 alone. It is estimated that the total number of dead as a direct result of these conflicts is 16.2 million, five times the interstate toll. These civil wars occurred in 73 states – more than a third of the UN system – and had a median duration of roughly 6 years.[42] Even though not all of the conflicts listed as civil wars can be classified as insurgencies, many can. Moreover, this statistic on civil war does not reflect all the refugees these conflicts produced, a number far greater than their death toll and far greater than the refuge flows associated with the inter-state wars. The point being made by Fearon and Laitin is that intra state war and thus insurgency, is a far greater scourge than conventional interstate war.

Further complicating this situation is the role played by globalization, which since the mid-1970s have grown in importance and today affects literally all countries. Even though many view globalization as beneficial, not all do and some may even turn to violence in attempt to counter it, as demonstrated by the Taliban and al-Qaeda movements. Globalization also implies that events in one part of the world increasingly

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[39] James D. Fearon and David D. Laitin, 75-90.

[40] Interstate wars that killed at least 1,000.

[41] Civil wars with at least 1,000 killed.

[42] James D. Fearon and David D. Laitin, 75.

have consequences for individuals and societies in other parts of the world.[43] Globalization has also resulted in, although indirectly, that human rights and value of human life have grown in importance and today are viewed as concepts that should have universal applicability. As a corollary to the aforementioned, a violent conflict within one country may have far reaching consequences and may lead to other states or the world community intervening on for example humanitarian grounds. The Balkan Wars in the 1990s and today's conflicts in Iraq and Afghanistan are illustrious cases in point.

When investigating Norway's goals and ambitions in its security and defense policy, it is natural to start with an analysis of "Relevant Force: Strategic Concept for the Norwegian Armed Forces."[44] This strategic concept sets the security and defense policy framework for the doctrines and operational activities for the NAF in the period 2005-2008. This concept acknowledges that as a result of the changed security environment, "Norway must be prepared to contribute to establish the necessary degree of control in many conflicts, both on humanitarian grounds and in order to safeguarding our own, and international, security and stability."[45] Relevant Force also states that Norway has five fundamental security policy objectives of which the second is: "…to contribute to peace, stability and the further development of the international rule of law".[46] As a link between its security and defense policy, Norway has also established four defense policy objectives, of which the second states that the NAF shall be able to: "together with Allies, through participation in multinational peace operations and international defence cooperation, contribute to peace, stability, the enforcement of international law and respect for human rights..."[47] This concept also tasks the NAF to contribute to international crisis management, including multinational peace operations. It further states that:

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[43] Forsvarsdepartementet, "Relevant Force: Strategic Concept for the Norwegian Armed Forces," 14.

[44] Ibid.

[45] Ibid., 29.

[46] Ibid., 48.

[47] Ibid., 60.

The NAF shall, within the limits of international law, be able to contribute military capabilities in order to impose control over situations that either threaten our common security or vital interests, or have other unacceptable consequences. Such crisis management might include all kinds of security related challenges, in principle take place anywhere in the world, and be led by organizations such as the UN, NATO and the EU, or be carried out by coalitions of limited duration.[48]

It is also imperative to note that the use of Norwegian military forces must have basis in international law, and in cases other than self defense, normally must be based on a UN mandate. Moreover, this concept also advises that:

The NAF will focus on being capable of handling a broad range of challenges, both nationally and internationally. The NAF must be structured in such a way as to be able to undertake all tasks in the most comprehensive, adequate and forward-looking manner, and with the inherent flexibility that uncertainty requires.[49]

This is also supported by more recent government whitepapers, like for example Parliamentary Bill no. 48.[50]

In this regard it is also imperative to note the elevated importance of NORSOF within the NAF. Today NORSOF is not only as a national joint strategic asset, it is also considered as one of Norway's niche capabilities that represents the specialized units that are in demand in the Alliance.[51]

Although this strategic concept was promulgated by an earlier government, the present Government does not seem to have major issues with this concept.[52] The present government states that it wants modern armed forces, adapted to the new security challenges, and, moreover, that new and compounded threats increase the need for

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[48] Forsvarsdepartementet, "Relevant Force: Strategic Concept for the Norwegian Armed Forces," 64.

[49] Ibid., 70.

[50] Forsvarsdepartementet; Et forsvar til vern om Norges sikkerhet, interesser og verdier, 13.

[51] Forsvarsdepartenemtet, "Relevant Force: Strategic Concept for the Norwegian Armed Forces," 73-74; Forsvarsdepartementet; Et forsvar til vern om Norges sikkerhet, interesser og verdier, 63, 74.

[52] This government has among other things put more emphasis on Northern Norway and adjacent areas; a more pronounced role for the UN, and thus enhanced Norwegian participation in UN operations.

flexible armed forces that can manage a wide variety of tasks.[53] Norway shall also strengthen its effort in conflict prevention and conflict resolution. Norway will thus enhance its civilian and military involvement in UN's peacekeeping operations, especially in Africa. As for Afghanistan, the Norwegian participation in ISAF shall be strengthened, and thus the Norwegian mandate for OEF will not be renewed.[54]

NATO is a cornerstone of Norwegian security policy, and NATO's tasks are therefore also applicable to Norway. Relevant Force advises that "[it] is of utmost importance that Norway is capable of contributing actively, to ensure that NATO is in a position to carry out the total range of its security tasks in a credible manner."[55] Norway has therefore contributed forces, including NORSOF to NATO's new reaction force (NRF) since its establishment in 2003. It is also imperative to note that the "…use of force by Norway in a purely national context is first and foremost an option in limited situations, connected to the exercise of national sovereignty and authority. In all other situations, the NAF will operate within a multinational framework – both inside and outside of Norway".[56] As a corollary to this, Norway must be prepared to undertake operations under the auspices of the UN and NATO. However, as both of these two organizations are adapting to the changed security environment with irregular threats like insurgencies, international terrorism, etc., being dominant, Norwegian forces is likely to find itself in a peace enforcement operation facing an insurgent movement posing an irregular threat. NORSOF's operations in Afghanistan are illustrious cases in point. Moreover, with the present government's focus on Africa, and Sudan in particular, this scenario is also highly likely in the future.

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[53] Regjeringen [The Government], "Soria Moria erklæringen: Plattform for regjeringssamarbeide mellom Arbeiderpartiet, Sosialistisk Ventreparti og Senterpartiet 2005-09 [The Soria Moria Declaration: the Basis for Governmental Collaboration between the Labour Party, Socialist Left Party and the Center Party 2005-09]," Regjeringen 13 Oct 2005 [Online].

[54] Ibid.

[55]Forsvarsdepartementet, "Relevant Force: Strategic Concept for the Norwegian Armed Forces," 33-34.

[56] Ibid., 56.

When trying to predict the need for future Norwegian military operations abroad, I find it instructive to also investigate former and current operations. Thus, one might be able to see if there are some trends that may indicate what the future will bring. After the Second World War, Norway has participated in a number of different conflicts around the world. A selected number of these may broadly be divided into four categories:

Table 2.1.   Selected Norwegian Military Deployments[57]

Time	Location	Type of Operation	Auspices	General
1947-1953	West-Germany	Treaty Enforcement	UK	Brigade size, active personnel/conscripts
1950-	Different locations	Peace Keeping/ Humanitarian	UN	Mainly small contingents of UN-observers or medical personnel
1978-1998	Lebanon	Peace Keeping	UN	A reinforced Bn, mainly reservists
1991-	Somalia, Balkans, Afghanistan	Peace Keeping/ Enforcement	UN, NATO, USA	Various active units

As this table depicts, all Norwegian deployments have been under the auspices of the UN, NATO or a major power. Moreover, it seems clear that with the exception of the "German Brigade" in West-Germany, there is a trend in that the commitments have moved from being mainly smaller commitments of for example individual UN observers to larger formations (in a Norwegian context). Also, while the deployed personnel earlier often mostly were reservists or a mix of reservists and active duty personnel, today the personnel is almost exclusively active duty.

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[57] For a comprehensive discussion of Norwegian commitments see among others: Kjetil Skogrand, *Norsk forsvarshistorie: alliert i krig og fred* , *bind 4* [Norwegian Defense History: Allied in War and Peace, Vol. 4], (Norway, Bergen: Eide forlag, 2004), and Jacob Børresen, Gullow Gjeseth and Rolf Tamnes, Norsk forsvarshistorie: allianseforsvar i endring, bind 5 [Norwegian Defense History: Alliance Defense in change, Vol. 5], (Norway, Bergen: Eide forlag, 2004).

There also seems to be a change in types of operations as well as operational environments. Although it is difficult to precisely classify these operations due to their complex and volatile nature, I find the following figure illustrative.

Environment

	Permissive	Semi or non-permissive
Peace-keeping	Germany 1947-53 UNEF 1956-67 UNIFIL 1978-88	UNPROFOR 1992-95 IFOR/SFOR 1995-2008 KFOR 1999-2008
Peace-enforcement	(Not Applicable)	Allied Action 1999 UNOSOM 1991-95 OEF/ISAF 2002-

Type of operation

Figure 2.1.   Types of Operation vs. Environment for Selected Norwegian Commitments

Figure 2-1 indicates that there has been a shift from mostly peace-keeping operations in a permissive environment to peace-keeping operations in semi or non-permissive environment and more lately a shift to peace-enforcement operations in semi or non-permissive environment. Although this figure does not depict it, in most of these operations either one or both of the fighting parties to some degree have been constituted by irregular forces. It therefore seems reasonable to infer that future Norwegian military commitments are likely to be peace-enforcement operations in a semi or non-permissive environment with a large influx of irregular forces.

As this discussion illustrates, today's security environment is highly complex and characterized by unconventional threats which may require Norway to commit its military forces as part of a multinational coalition. NORSOF is one of the forces likely to be deployed due to their specialization, robustness, and utility. Consequently, in the future, NORSOF is therefore likely to find itself in a counterinsurgency operation, like the one that has been going on in Afghanistan since early 2002, or in another conflict in another country.

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III.   CHARACTERISTICS OF INSURGENCY

A.   TYPES OF INSURGENCY

As previously noted, a conflict is characterized as an insurgency when an organized movement aims at overthrowing a constituted government through the use of subversion and armed conflict. It can thus be described as a strategy adopted by groups either unable or unwilling to attain political objectives through normal means. The central issue in insurgencies and counterinsurgencies is therefore political power, and, consequently, each side aims to get the people to accept its governance or authority as legitimate. Insurgents on their part, "…use all available tools – political (including diplomatic), informational (including appeals to religious, ethnic, or ideological beliefs), military, and economic – to overthrow the existing authority".[58] As a corollary to this, the reason for the insurrection is that the insurgents perceive the ruling group as illegitimate. This illegitimacy may be perceived or real, and may be the result of various conditions. The scholar Bard E. O'Neill suggests four major aspects of politics as the genesis of insurrection.[59] First, the political community, which normally is equivalent to the nation-state, may be perceived as illegitimate because major ethnic or religious groups may have been divided because of artificially drawn borders, and thus lives in an area that are ruled by a rival group. Second, there may be discord over the political system which O'Neill divides into traditional autocracy, modernizing autocracy, totalitarian, and pluralistic. Third, some specific individuals within the polity may be considered illegitimate because their behavior is inconsistent with existing values and norms, or because they are viewed as corrupt, ineffective, or oppressive.[60] Finally, the policies itself may be contested and

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[58] DA FM 3-24. *The U.S. Army and Marine Corps Counterinsurgency Field Manual* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2007), 2.

[59] O'Neill, 15.

[60] Ibid., 19.

insurgents may use violence to change existing social, economic, or political policies which they may believe are discriminate. Insurgents may consider any or all of these illegitimate, and, according to O'Neill, it makes a great deal of difference precisely which one is at stake.[61]

Closely related to the underlying causes for the insurrection is what type of insurrection one faces. It is therefore imperative to ascertain the insurgents' long-term goals. As the scholars Metz & Millen have noted, very broadly there are two forms of insurgency, "national" insurgency and "liberation" insurgency.[62] In the former, the insurgents oppose the regime because of distinctions based on class, ideology, identity (ethnicity, race, religion) or other political factors. In the latter, the insurgents are opposing a regime which is seen as an outside occupier. The goal of the insurgents is thus to "liberate" their nation from the outside occupier. The German occupation of Norway and the subsequent resistance fight being an example of the latter. An insurgency can contain elements of both, and may even shift from one form to another during its lifespan. More importantly, liberation insurgencies are more difficult to counter, due to the fact that the regime (the occupier) usually has little legitimacy and the population strongly supports the insurgents, thus giving them an advantage.

Bard O'Neill differentiates insurgency even further, and suggests nine types of insurgent movements: anarchists, egalitarians, traditionalists, pluralists, apocalyptic-utopians, secessionists, reformists, preservationists, and commercialists.[63] Anarchists believe that all authority patterns are unnecessary and illegitimate; political systems should therefore be destroyed and not replaced. The Greek 17 November organization is an example of such a group.

Egalitarian insurgents seek to impose a new system "based on the ultimate value of distributional equality and centrally controlled structures designed to mobilize the

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[61] O'Neill, 15.

[62] Metz and Millen, 6-7.

[63] O'Neill, 20.

people and radically transform the social structure within an existing political community."[64] The Shining Path in Peru and the New People's Army in the Philippines are examples of egalitarian movements.

Traditionalists, however, seek to "establish political structures characterized by limited or guided participation and low autonomy, with political power in the hands of an autocratic leader supported by economic, military, and clerical leaders."[65] Many of today's Islamic militant groups such as al-Qaeda fall within this category.

Some movements like the Japanese Aum Shinrikyo sect can best be labeled as Apocalyptic-Utopian. They envisage establishing a world order – sometimes involving divine intervention – as the result of an apocalypse precipitated by their acts of terrorism.[66]

The last category of insurgents who seek revolutionary change of the political system is the pluralists. "Pluralist insurgents aim to establish a system that emphasize the values of individual freedom, liberty, and compromise and in which political structures are differentiated and autonomous."[67] The African National Congress (ANC) which fought against apartheid in South Africa in the 1970s and 1980s belong in this category.

The sixth type, the secessionist or separatist insurgent movements have been among the most notable insurgents in the post World War Two era. Secessionists either seek to form their own nation-state or to join another. The Vietminh in Indochina is an example of the former and the Albanian National Liberation Army in Macedonia is an example of the latter.

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[64] O'Neill, 20.

[65] Ibid., 21.

[66] Ibid., 23.

[67] Ibid., 25.

The seventh type of insurgency is the reformist, and these insurgents target policies that determine distribution of the economic, psychological, and political benefits that society has to offer. The Zapatistas in Mexico who fight for Indian rights are a case in point.

Another type of insurgents are the preservationists who differ from the other categories in that they carry out illegal acts of violence against non-ruling groups and authorities that are trying to effect change. Preservationists are essentially oriented towards maintaining the status quo because of the privileges they derive from it, and the American Ku Klux Klan is an infamous example of such an organization.

The last category of insurgent group according to O'Neill is one that Steven Metz has called commercial insurgents.[68] Their aim seems to be the acquisition of materiel resources through seizure and control of political power. Thus, they consider political legitimacy to be relatively unimportant and focus on coercive power. As an example of this type of movement, O'Neill points to the noxious Revolutionary United Front in Sierra Leone.

It is also worth noting that O'Neill points to five problems that often complicate identifying types of insurgent movements.[69] First, some insurgent movements change their goals during the conflict. Second, there may be conflicting goals, as when distinct groups or factions of an insurgent movement have different, sometimes mutually exclusive goals. Third, the insurgents are frequently masking their ultimate goals by democratic rhetoric. O'Neill therefore advises that it is imperative to examine how insurgents conduct their own political affairs. Fourth, the insurgents' goals may be ambiguous, as when two or more aims may be evident, neither of which clearly predominates. The fifth problem originates in the tendency to confuse the intermediate and ultimate strategic aims of insurgents.

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[68] Steven Metz, *The Future of Insurgency* (Carlisle Barracks, PA: Strategic Studies Institute, December 10, 1993), 13-15.

[69] O'Neill, 29-31.

Notwithstanding the differences between types of insurgencies and the problems related to classify them accordingly, the new U.S. Army and Marine Corps counterinsurgency manual nicely sums it up when it states that insurgencies "…normally seek to achieve one of two goals: to overthrow the existing social order and to reallocate power within a single state, or to break away from state control and form an autonomous entity or ungoverned space they can control."[70]

B.   INSURGENT STRATEGIES

Insurgency, as earlier noted, is a strategy used by a challenging group to gain power. Various analysts of insurgency have classified insurgent strategies differently. In this study I use Bard E. O'Neill's framework which also is very similar to the one used in the new U.S. Army and Marine Corps Counterinsurgency manual. O'Neill has identified four broad strategic approaches commonly used by insurgents as well as a fifth strategy that is still evolving.[71] The first strategy is called the conspiratorial one, and it seeks to remove the ruling authorities through a limited but swift use of force.[72] This strategy encompasses revolution and plot (*coup d'état*), as described by David Galula, himself an astute veteran of counterinsurgency, in his seminal book "Counterinsurgency Warfare: Theory and Practice".[73] The Bolshevik insurrection in Russia in 1917, being an example of the former; the many military coups that have plagued many African and Latin American countries, being examples of the latter.

The second strategy is the protracted war strategy as articulated by Mao Tse-tung[74] is not only the most conceptually elaborate strategy but also, perhaps, the most

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[70] DA FM 3-24. *The U.S. Army and Marine Corps Counterinsurgency Field Manual*, 3.

[71] O'Neill, 45-63.

[72] Ibid., 46.

[73] David Galula, *Counterinsurgency Warfare: Theory and Practice* (Westport Connecticut: Praeger Security International, 2006), 2.

[74] On Mao's Protracted War see Mao Tse-tung, *On Guerrilla Warfare* [Translated by Samuel B. Griffith II] (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2000); and Mao Tse-tung, *Selected Military Writings of Mao Tse-tung* (Peking: Foreign Language Press, 1968).

widely copied one.[75] This strategy outlines a three-phased, politico-military approach.[76] The phases are sequential but overlapping, and each phase differs with respect to the correlation of forces. In phase one, the *strategic defensive*, the enemy has a stronger correlation of forces and the insurgents must concentrate on survival and building support. As the insurgents gradually gain support and military strength, they enter the second and longest phase which Mao termed the *strategic stalemate*. This phase starts when the force correlations approach equilibrium and it is characterized mainly by guerrilla warfare. As the success of the insurgents lead to demoralization, lethargy, and defections on the enemy side, the final phase, the *strategic offensive* starts. In this phase the insurgents have superior strength and move from guerrilla operations to conventional operations in order to destroy the enemy's military capability. It is imperative to note that Mao's strategy of protracted popular war does not require a sequential or complete application of all three stages.[77] The aim is to seize political power; if the government's will and capability collapse early in the progress, so much the better. If the insurgents are unsuccessful in a later stage, they might revert to an earlier phase. This flexibility partly explains why this strategy has become so popular, especially in many Third World countries. In contrast to Mao, however, who downplayed terrorism and focused almost exclusively on guerrilla warfare in the rural areas where the insurgents "swam like fish in the sea," other movements like the Vietcong in Vietnam, the New Peoples Army in the Philippines and the Shining Path in Peru have concluded that greater violence in the cities and more use of terrorism were necessary.[78]

The third strategy, the military-focus strategy, is similar to the protracted war strategy in that it may involve a protracted struggle. However, it differs fundamentally because it gives primacy to military action and subordinates political action.[79] Followers of this strategy believe that popular support is either sufficient or will be a by-product of

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[75] O'Neill, 49.

[76] Mao Tse-tung, *Selected Military Writings of Mao Tse-tung,* 210-219, deals with the three stages of protracted war.

[77] DA FM 3-24. *The U.S. Army and Marine Corps Counterinsurgency Field Manual*, 13.

[78] O'Neill, 54.

[79] Ibid., 56.

military victories. Examples of this approach according to O'Neill are the South during the American Civil War and the Biafran Civil War. A variant of the military-focus strategy, the *focoist*, was developed during the Cuban insurrection and popularized by among other Che Guevara.[80] Central to these revolutionaries was the notion that an insurrection itself can create the conditions needed to overthrow the government. A small group of guerrillas (the *foco*),[81] catalyzing on existing grievances "…would "jump start" the campaign to overthrow the standing government trough the power of example."[82]

The fourth approach is the urban-warfare strategy in which terrorist attacks play a preponderant role. This approach is a response to the growing urbanization in many parts of the world which has forced many insurgents to locate in the cities. Central to this strategy, according to Carlos Marighella, one of its foremost proponents, is to perform violent acts that will force the regime into repression, which again will lead to the alienation of masses that will then revolt against the army and the regime, and then blame them for the state of things.[83] There are also two variations of this strategy: one that focuses solely on the cities and one that calls for a move to the countryside. History has showed that the latter is imperative if popular support is to be gained. This strategy of urban-warfare has been pursued by various terrorist organizations, like the Irish Republican Army (IRA) and the French Action Direct. This approach has rarely been successful. The regimes have either been able to crush the insurgent movements, or the movements' ultimate goals. Cases in point are the previously mentioned European terrorist organizations, which have continued their violent acts, but with little chance of achieving their goals.[84]

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[80] For a comparison of the Chinese and the Cuban model of people's war, see: Gordon H. McCormick, "People's Wars," in James Ciment (ed.), *The Encyclopedia of International Conflict*, (Shocken Press, 1999), 23-34.

[81] Castro and Guevara had initially a cadre of 11 men when they started to organize the Cuban insurrection.

[82] McCormick, 29.

[83] O'Neill, 61-62.

[84] Ibid., 62-63.

Finally, O'Neill suggests that there may be a fifth insurgent strategy being developed, as exemplified by the al-Qaeda network. Its main focus is not concentrated within the borders of a given country, which is a break with earlier insurgencies. Although al-Qaeda may not have fully developed an overall strategy for conducting an insurgency, O'Neill notes that the strategy of al-Qaeda is best viewed as a military-focus one with a global theater of operations.[85]

It is important to note that Bard O'Neill warns that the strategic approaches are not always clear-cut. They may for example not be applied precisely the way they were originally articulated, and, moreover, insurgent movements may be divided into independent groups which may pursue several strategies simultaneously. The key questions for the analyst are therefore "…whether there is a lack of consensus on strategy, what the conflicting strategies are, what actions take place, and what effects of the discordant behavior are."[86]

C.   MOBILIZATION MEANS AND CAUSES

As should be clear now, an insurgency is a competition between insurgent and government for political control and legitimacy. As David Galula succinctly put it "…the battle for the population is a major characteristic of the revolutionary war."[87] In other words, both insurgent and government seek the support of the civilian population while discouraging support for their adversaries. Two important aspects of this effort are mobilization means and causes.

There are several ways of classifying the mobilizing means the insurgents may use. Again I find Bard E. O'Neill's framework instructive. According to him, insurgents usually employ one or several of the following seven methods to gain the desired support and recruits.[88]

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[85] O'Neill, 65-66.

[86] Ibid., 64.

[87] Galula, 4.

[88] O'Neill, 98-110.

One way of mobilizing popular support is through charismatic attraction.[89] In certain cases, assertive individuals emerge as the clearly identifiable leaders of insurgent movements. When they are perceived to have supernatural qualities or when they manifest captivating oratorical skills and a forceful personality, such leaders may motivate others to join their cause through their example and persuasiveness.[90] Examples of such leaders are Vladimir Lenin, Mao Tse-tung, Fidel Castro, and more recently, Osama bin Laden.

Another mobilizing means is to use esoteric and exoteric appeals. Esoteric appeals are directed primarily at the intellectual stratum and seek to "…clarify environmental conditions by putting them in a theoretical context that has neat, orderly interpretations and explanations for all perceived social, economic, and political 'realities'."[91] These theoretical contexts are ideological in nature and can be either secular or sacred and purport to explain the past, present and to predict the future. A classic example of a secular ideology is Marxism-Leninism with its focus on class struggles which eventually would lead to a utopian future devoid of exploitation and alienation. Exoteric appeals, on the other hand, focuses on the concrete grievances of both the intelligentsia and the masses. Exoteric appeals are essential for the acquisition of popular support from the masses, as pointed out by Mao.

When esoteric and exoteric appeals do not yield expected support, insurgents may use terrorism to demonstrate the government's weaknesses and thus gain popular support. Use of this means, however, implies the risk of alienating potential domestic and international supporters. The Malayan Communist Party and the IRA both suffered defections and loss of popular support because of their indiscriminate actions.

Another often used means of gaining support is to provoke government repression, as demonstrated by the Algerians in their fight against the French colonial

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[89] For an interesting perspective on charismatic leadership see: "Toward a Theory of the Routinization of Charisma," *Rocky Mountain Social Science Journal*, Vol. 9, No. 2, April (1972), 93-98.

[90] O'Neill, 98.

[91] Ibid., 99.

power. "Excessive violence by military and police units – an all-to frequent occurrence in insurrections – and government-sponsored vigilantes (death squads) is generally recognized as a factor accounting for increased support for insurgents in many cases…"[92]

Another technique to gain support is for the insurgents to demonstrate potency. This approach has two dimensions: meeting the needs of the people and gaining military initiative. By establishing an administrative apparatus (shadow government) that provides social services like schools, health clinics, etc., the insurgents not only manifest their own presence, but also demonstrate the failure of the government. The Palestinian Hamas organization is a case in point. By gaining military initiative, the insurgents create the impression that the insurgency has momentum and will succeed.

Coercion is also often used, especially against that part of the population that is unresponsive to the other mobilizing means. This is the least effective method because it causes resentment and therefore weak commitment of those who are directly victimized.[93]

In addition to the means of mobilization described by O'Neill, the new U.S. counterinsurgency manual adds two more means: foreign support and apolitical motivations. Foreign regimes can "…provide the expertise, international legitimacy, and money needed to start or intensify a conflict."[94] Insurgencies may also attract criminals, mercenaries, individuals inspired by the romanticized image of the revolutionary or holy warrior, as well as others who imagine themselves as fighters for the cause.[95] It is imperative to note that political solutions are probably not sufficient for individuals in this category to end the fighting.

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[92] O'Neill, 104-105.

[93] Ibid., 109.

[94] DA FM 3-24. *The U.S. Army and Marine Corps Counterinsurgency Field Manual*, 16.

[95] Ibid., 17.

Closely related to the means or techniques for gaining popular support is the need for a cause. As Davis Galula wisely advised, "[t]he first basic need for an insurgent who aims more than simply making trouble is an attractive cause…"[96] With a cause, the insurgent has a formidable asset that he can turn into concrete strength. Moreover, Galula noted that: "[t]he best cause for the insurgent's purpose is one that, by definition, can attract the largest number of supporters and repel the minimum of opponents."[97] Also, a good cause is one that the counterinsurgent cannot espouse, without risking loosing his power, which after all, is what he is fighting for. Finally, Galula noted that a good cause "…must be lasting, if not for the duration of the revolutionary war, at least until the insurgent movement is well on its feet."[98] The insurgents' cause is usually rooted in one or more local real or perceived grievances of either political, social, economic, racial, religious, or cultural character. In some cases the cause may even be artificial, as it may be made up by the insurgents.

This said, it is pertinent to note that an insurgency may be viewed through two different "lenses." A prevalent view, as advocated by among other the prominent analysts David Galula and Bard E. O'Neill, focuses on what can be called the "narrative paradigm." Central to this paradigm is that individuals frame the insurgency so that it reflects their view on history, culture, etc. Thus, peoples' decisions are shaped by this image. A common assumption in the narrative paradigm is therefore that social grievances are one of the most important root causes for insurgencies. Another view, which is less prevalent, can be labeled the "rational paradigm." This paradigm emphasizes that individuals are thinking beings that make rational decisions based on risk and expected value. A common assumption in this paradigm is that economic development is a crucial factor in insurgencies.[99] These two paradigms are in somewhat contrast to each other as they offer different views on what the root causes of insurgency

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[96] Galula, 12.

[97] Ibid., 13.

[98] Ibid.

[99] For a discussion of economics as a factor in insurgency see among other: Paul Collier, *Doing well Out of War* (The World Bank, 1999); Paul Collier, *Economic Causes of Civil Conflict and Their Implications for policy* (The World Bank, 2000); and Paul Collier and Anke Hoeffler, "Greed and grievance in civil war," *Oxford Economic Papers* 56, (2004).

are, how people act, and how best to combat it. As a corollary to this, when analyzing insurgency, one must not only take into account those aspect of human behavior which are identity originated, but also those aspects that are economically based.

D.   OTHER ASPECTS OF INSURGENCY

When characterizing insurgency, the scholars Steven Metz and Raymond Millen succinctly described it when they said that insurgency is characterized by "…protracted, asymmetric violence, ambiguity, the use of complex terrain (jungles, mountains, urban areas), psychological warfare and political mobilization…"[100] By this they meant that insurgencies are usually protracted as the insurgent forces very often use time to their advantage (as long as one avoids defeat, one has not lost). The relationship between the regime and the insurgent movement is one of asymmetry with regard to most aspects. Thus, this contest is not fair – many of the rules, for example, favor the insurgents; "[i]nsurgents succeed by sowing chaos and disorder anywhere, the government fails unless it maintains a degree of order everywhere."[101] This is particular true in the initial stages of insurgency. "Ironically, as the insurgents achieve more success and begin to control larger portions of the populace, many of these asymmetries diminish."[102] Moreover, because there is very often several insurgent groups (especially in the incipient phase), as well as outside sponsors, the situation very often becomes ambiguous. Many analysts of insurgency, like Galula and O'Neill have emphasized the importance of the environment, which plays an even greater role in insurgent conflicts than in conventional conflicts. Because of their relative weakness, the insurgents usually have to use the environment to their advantage, which further complicates the counterinsurgents' task. Given that political mobilization of the populace is paramount for both the insurgent and the regime, psychological programs (information operations) play a dominant role in this contest. As a corollary to these characteristics, the regime usually faces a long and difficult struggle when facing an insurgent movement challenging its legitimacy to rule.

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[100] Metz and Millen, 6.

[101] DA FM 3-24. *The U.S. Army and Marine Corps Counterinsurgency Field Manual,* 4.

[102] Ibid., 5.

In its simplest form, an insurgency is comprised of three parties: the regime, the insurgents and the population. However, very often a fourth party is involved; outside actors like supporting countries or organizations which may support either the regime or the insurgents. Sometimes this is even further complicated as there might be several insurgent movements fighting the regime or several outside actors which might support one or both sides. The crux, however, is that the regime and the insurgents both compete for the population's support.

The insurgents, depending on the conflict's and the insurgent movement's idiosyncrasies, can be broken into several groups. Broadly, insurgents can be divided into four major groups: leaders, fighters, facilitators, and supporters.[103] Movement leaders provide strategic direction to the insurgency. Fighters do the actual fighting and provide security. The facilitators are active sympathizers who accomplish a myriad of supporting tasks. Supporters are the followers of the insurgent movement. Supporters may continue their normal positions in society or go underground. A fifth category, the political cadre, has often been an integral part of Communist insurgencies. The political cadre forms the political core of the insurgency, and implements guidance and procedures provided by the movement leaders. Although this term is seldom used by modern non-communist movements, insurgent movements based on religious extremism usually include religious or spiritual advisors among their cadre.[104] It is important to note that a successful insurgency requires only the active support of a small part of the population and acquiescence from the rest. Some successful insurgencies, "…including the Chinese, Algerian, Vietnamese, and American struggle for independence, never had active majority support."[105]

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[103] For an analysis of the Taliban movement see: Donald C. Bolduc and Mike Erwin, "The Anatomy of an Insurgency: An enemy organizational analysis," *Special Warfare*, July – August 2007, Vol. 20, Issue 4, 14-17.

[104] DA FM 3-24. *The U.S. Army and Marine Corps Counterinsurgency Field Manual*, 21.

[105] Metz, "Insurgency and Counterinsurgency in Iraq, 32.

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IV. CHARACTERISTICS OF SUCCESSFUL COUNTERINSURGENCY

A. THE GENERAL NATURE OF COUNTERINSURGENCY

As the preceding chapter illustrates, insurgent conflict is characterized by an organized movement aiming at overthrowing a constituted government through the use of subversion and armed conflict. The central issue is political power, and, consequently, each side aims to get the people to accept its governance or authority as legitimate. Insurgents on their part, use all available tools – political, informational, military, and economic – to overthrow the existing authority. Clearly, many factors have bearing on the progress and outcome of insurgencies. None, however, is more important than the government's response.[106] This chapter therefore seeks to investigate and describe how a polity challenged by an insurgency can best defend itself against and ultimately defeat the challenging forces. I will therefore start with some general comments about the nature of counterinsurgency before describing some principles for effective counterinsurgency. I will end this chapter describing a simple model for counterinsurgency.

As a corollary to the above mentioned, Western counterinsurgency doctrine, as the British Brigadier Sir Nigel Aylwin-Foster notes:

> …generally identifies the 'hearts and minds campaign' – gaining and maintaining the support of the domestic population in order to isolate the insurgent – as key to success. It thus sees the population as a political instrument of advantage. It further recognizes that military operations must contribute to the achievement of this effect and be subordinate to the political campaign. This implies that above all a COIN [counterinsurgency] force must have two skills that are not required in conventional warfighting: first, it must be able to see issues and actions from the perspective of the domestic population; second, it must understand the relative value of force and how easily excessive force, even when apparently justified, can undermine popular support. [107]

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[106] O'Neill, 155.

[107] Nigel Aylwin-Foster, "Changing the Army for Counterinsurgency Operations," *Military Review*, November – December 2005, 4.

History, however, has demonstrated that two important aspects underscored by Sir Aylwin-Foster are often ignored; the need for popular support and the inadequacy of conventional war fighting. The American experience in Vietnam and the Peruvian campaign against the Sendero Luminoso (Shining Path) movement, being just two sad examples.

It is often said that insurgents start with nothing but a cause and grow to strength, while the regime starts with everything but a cause and gradually decline in strength to the point of weakness.[108] This refers to the asymmetry between the regime and insurgents at the outset of the conflict as described in the previous chapter. The insurgent has few resources but operates clandestinely, has an information advantage (he knows who and where the enemy is), and he has the strategic initiative (he alone can initiate the conflict), while the counterinsurgent has superiority in tangible assets but has an information disadvantage (does not know who and where the enemy is). Moreover, in the field of intangibles, the insurgent has a formidable asset – the ideological power of a cause on which to base his action, while the counterinsurgent has a heavy liability – he is responsible for maintaining law and order.[109] Bard O'Neill notes that: "[w]hether governments lose, maintain, or enhance their initial advantage depends, in the main, on how they mobilize and use the political and military resources at their disposal…"[110] The outcome of a counterinsurgency campaign therefore results heavily upon the action taken by the counterinsurgents.

In conventional war, military action remains the principal instrument. In insurgent warfare, as Galula notes, the picture is quite different. The objective being the population itself, the operations are essentially political in nature. "It is not enough for the government to set political goals, to determine how much military force is applicable, to enter into alliances or break them; politics becomes an active instrument of operation."[111]

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[108] Frank Kitson, *Low Intensity Operations: Subversion, Insurgency, and Peackeeping* (St.Petersburg, Florida: Hailer Publishing, 2007, 29.

[109] Galula, 4.

[110] O'Neill, 155.

[111] Galula, 5.

Galula further notes that the interplay between the political and the military actions are so intricate that they cannot be tidily separated; on the contrary, every military move has to be weighed with regards to its political effects, and vice versa. This is supported by the scholars Max G. Manwaring and John T. Fishel who analyzed 43 post-World War Two insurgencies in which the United States or another Western country was involved. They found that "[v]irtually none of the insurgencies the world have experienced since the end of World War II appear to have been merely tools of policy – they were policy."[112] It is therefore fair to say, as Steven Metz does, that: "[c]ounterinsurgency is not an exclusively or even predominantly military function but demands the seamless integration of informational, political, social, cultural, law enforcement, economic, military, and intelligence activities."[113] Accordingly, the aforementioned leads to the conclusion that a sound counterinsurgency response is one that encompasses a wide range of civil and military programs, but where the latter is subjugated to and supporting the civilian effort. The Communist insurrection in Malaya, known as the Malayan Emergency, affords a good example of this. During the Emergency, which lasted from 1948 to 1960, the British contained and ultimately defeated the Communist insurgents by employing a wide range of civil and military programs tied together by unified management. This government response was not primarily military; instead the U.K./Government of Malaya employed a mixed strategy encompassing civil, police, military, and psychological warfare programs, all within the rule of law.[114] This response was so effective and successful that many analysts consider the Malayan Emergency a textbook example for how to quell an insurgency and thus a model to replicate.

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[112] Max G. Manwaring and John T. Fishel, "Insurgency and Counter-Insurgency: Toward a new Analytical Approach," *Small Wars and Insurgencies*, Vol. 3, Issue 3, Winter 1992, 273.

[113] Steven Metz, "Insurgency and Counterinsurgency in Iraq," *The Washington Quarterly* (Winter 2003-04): 33.

[114] Robert W. Komer, *The Malayan Emergency in Retrospect: Organization of a Successful Counterinsurgency Effort* (Santa Monica: Rand Corporation, 1972), v.

Counterinsurgency is almost always by nature protracted.[115] Some analysts have calculated that the average insurgency lasts about 13 years.[116] Several factors result in this protractedness. First, counterinsurgency is protracted because it takes time for the insurgent leaders to organize an insurgent movement, to raise and develop armed forces and to reach a balance with the government forces, and to overpower them.[117] Second, and more importantly, due to the initial weakness of the insurgents, they always operate clandestinely; at least until they have gained strength and thus can operate more openly. Very often, the only thing preventing the counterinsurgents from capturing or killing the insurgents is that they cannot find them. Building up reliable intelligence system takes time. Third, if the insurgents' claims strike a chord in the population because the government is considered inept, unjust, corrupt, or otherwise less legitimate, then rectifying this lack of legitimacy is not done overnight. Thus, it can be argued that a counterinsurgency is a protracted struggle conducted methodically, in order to attain specific intermediate objectives leading finally to the defeat of the insurgent organization and establishment of effective governance by a legitimate government. It may also be wise to bear in mind an admonition from Roger Trinquier, himself an experienced counterinsurgent and analyst who noted that: "Except for the rare exception, *it* [counterinsurgency] *will never achieve spectacular results, so dear to laurel-seeking military leaders*. It is only by means of a sum of perfectly coordinated complex measures that the struggle will, slowly but surely push the guerrilla to the wall."[118] Based on the aforementioned, it is therefore fair to say that counterinsurgency operations always

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[115] Galula, 6. Galula, for example lists some of the insurgencies the world has experienced during the last century. The insurgency lasted 22 years in China (if 1927 is taken as the starting year), five years in Greece, nine in Indochina, nine in the Philippines, twelve in Malaya, three in Tunisia, four in Morocco, eight in Algeria. Since the publication of Galula's book in 1964, one could for example add that the insurgency in Vietnam lasted 17 years (if 1958 is taken as the starting year), and in Northern Ireland it lasted 20 years.

[116] See Internal War Database; Department of Defense Analysis, NPS, Monterey, Ca.

[117] Galula, 6.

[118] Roger Trinquier, *Modern Warfare: A French View of Counterinsurgency* (Westport Connecticut: Praeger Security International, 2006), 54.

demand considerable expenditures of time and resources. Moreover, in order to be successful, a sound counterinsurgency campaign is one that is based on a long term commitment.

Counterinsurgency is also almost always an ambiguous enterprise. As noted in the previous chapter, very often it is difficult to establish the insurgents' real goal(s) and the strategy(ies) they pursue. Moreover, there may be more than one insurgent movement, and in some cases some of these movements may even fight each other. This may even be the case where there is outside support. Not only may this support be difficult to determine, but in cases where there are several outside supporters, some of them may even be inimical against each other. It is also not uncommon that insurgent movements are affiliated with organized crime or resort to criminal activity themselves, either for funding or as part of their offensive operations.[119] Further compounding the matter for the counterinsurgents is that the insurgents, as noted in the previous paragraph, operates clandestinely. This implies that they very often blend into the local population, and therefore are very difficult to distinguish from the general population. It is therefore probably true to say, as Trinquier does, that: "If we want to meet the guerrilla successfully and to defeat him within a reasonable period of time, we must study his methods, study our own methods and their potential, and draw from this study some general principles that will detect the guerrilla's weak points and concentrate our efforts on them."[120] I will therefore now discuss some of the principles that have been derived from previous studies of insurgent conflicts.

B.   PRINCIPLES FOR EFFECTIVE COUNTERINSURGENCY

There have been many attempts at deriving principles for effective counterinsurgency. Arguably, the scholar Kalev I. Sepp's[121] examination of 20th-century

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[119] One example is the Columbian FARC movement. Not only has this insurgent movement for a long time been affiliated with the Colombian drug cartels; this relationship has over time been so developed that many analysts today would characterize FARC as a purely criminal organization and not as an insurgent organization.

[120] Trinquier, 51.

[121] Kalev I. Sepp, "Best Practices in Counterinsurgency," *Military Review*, May – June 2005, 8-12.

insurgencies is one of the more comprehensive and useful studies. Hence, I will use this study as a backdrop for this section.[122] Sepp analyzed a total of 53 20th-century insurgencies in order to establish which counterinsurgency practices were successful and which failed.

Sepp suggests that the center of gravity in any insurgent conflict is the country's people and their belief in and support of their government.[123] Winning their hearts and minds must therefore be the objective of the government, and because this is a policy objective, it must be directed by the country's political leaders. Others, like Roger Trinquier supports this by noting that: "…the allegiance of the civilian population becomes the most vital objectives of the whole struggle."[124] Moreover, Trinquier notes that: "[insurgent warfare] requires the unconditional support of the populace. This support must be maintained at any price."[125] [126]

Human rights must be assured for the government to win the population's allegiance. Peoples' security must be assured as a basic need, along with sustenance, shelter, health services, and a means of earning a living. Moreover, freedom of religion, access to education, and equal rights for women must be met. Sepp also notes that the failure of counterinsurgencies and the root cause of the insurgencies themselves can often be traced to governments' disregard for these basic rights. Moreover, "[r]ecognition and assurance of these rights by the government has been essential to turning a population away from insurgents and their promises."[127] This is also supported by Trinquier, who from experience underscores the importance of treating the population who constitute the battleground in insurgent warfare with consideration and respect.[128] What both of these

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[122] For a good account of historical and contemporary principles of counterinsurgency, see among other: DA FM 3-24. *The U.S. Army and Marine Corps Counterinsurgency Field Manual.*.

[123] Sepp, 9.

[124] Trinquier, xii.

[125] Ibid., 17.

[126] Trinquier goes even further when he asserts that: "Since the control of the population is the aim of counterinsurgency, any element not in direct and permanent contact with the population is useless." Ibid., 61.

[127] Sepp, 9.

[128] Trinquier, ix.

analysts have in mind is legitimacy. By assuring human rights and treating the population with consideration and respect, the government's legitimacy is enhanced while the insurgents' legitimacy is likely to decrease.

Given that insurgent warfare by nature leads to disorder, the imperative of maintaining peoples' security and proper law enforcement are of paramount importance. Sepp therefore asserts that intelligence operations that identify insurgents for arrest and prosecution are the single most important practice to maintain peoples' security.[129] Central to this intelligence collection is honest, trained and robust police forces who can gain intelligence at the community level in which they have intimate knowledge. Supporting the police must be an incorrupt and well functioning judiciary which can prosecute and eventually sentence the captured insurgents. Military and paramilitary forces can also support the police in their performance of their law enforcement duties. In this regard, it must be noted that traditionally there has been an argument whether the military forces should be subjugated to the police forces or vice versa. The former was the case in the Malayan Emergency, where all military effort was subjugated to and supporting the civil effort. This is also supported by analysts like Frank Kitson, Steven Metz, Bard E. O'Neill and David Galula, to mention a few. The latter, for example, notes that "…the military action is secondary to the political one, its primary purpose being to afford the political power enough freedom to work safely with the population." He then adds that "[a] revolutionary war is 20 per cent military action and 80 per cent political."[130]

Since insurgents almost invariably rely on members of the population for concealment, supplies, and recruits, isolating the insurgents from the population is an important counterinsurgency measure.[131] Population control is therefore imperative, and among the most effective measures are vehicle and personnel checkpoints and national identity cards. Again, the Malayan Emergency affords a good example of the effectiveness of this measure. In the Emergency's first years, the Communist insurgents

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[129] Sepp, 9.

[130] Galula, 63.

[131] Sepp, 9.

had considerable support among parts of the population (the Chinese squatters in particular), and thus were able to operate with relative ease in many of the populated areas. However, when the government's counterinsurgent strategy was changed in 1950, population control was emphasized, which again resulted in the insurgents being forced into the jungle, effectively breaking the links between the insurgent organization and its support base. It is also worth mentioning that although such control measures entail impediments for the population, it also has the effect that they serve as a justification for a lack of support from people being pressured into supporting insurgents.

Given that insurgency and counterinsurgency are a contest for the right to rule, and, moreover, that civil response takes primacy over military response, political process is of considerable importance. History reminds us that the counterinsurgent often has to accede to political reforms in order to deprive the insurgent of some of his appeal. During the Hukbalahap rebellion in the Philippines, for example, the government successfully implemented land reforms as a means to deprive the insurgents of their appeal. Sepp also notes the importance of informational campaigns in support of political process, for example as a mean to encourage voting in local and national elections.[132]

Counterinsurgent warfare may, of course, also entail the use of military force. Allied military forces and advisory teams, Sepp notes, can support police forces and fight insurgents, and thus bolster security until indigenous security forces are competent to perform these tasks without allied assistance.[133] Moreover, constant patrolling by government forces establishes an official presence that enhances security and builds confidence in the government. Very often, the police force is not large enough to maintain effective patrolling and the military forces may then be a good substitute.

In cases where the insurgents receive outside support, this support must be effectively stopped. Border crossings must be restricted to deny insurgents access to sanctuaries and supplies, and to enhance national sovereignty.[134] Although the French

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[132] Sepp, 10.

[133] Ibid.

[134] Ibid., 11.

built a 320-kilometer-long barrier on the eastern Algeria border which effectively stopped insurgent infiltration, effectively securing the borders is usually an extremely difficult task. The problem of securing Afghanistan's borders affords a good example of this challenge.

Finally, Sepp, as many analysts before him, notes the importance of executive authority. "Emergency conditions dictate that a government needs a single, fully empowered executive to direct and coordinate counterinsurgency efforts."[135] Power sharing, while appreciated in peace time, may present wartime vulnerabilities and gaps in coordination that insurgents can exploit. However, experience has showed that having a single "supremo" directing all counterinsurgency efforts may be hard to achieve. Unity of effort should then be emphasized in the absence of unity of command. Thus one enhances the probability of proper coordination of all counterinsurgency measures.

As examples of failed counterinsurgency practices, Sepp points to the American intervention in Vietnam and the Soviet occupation of Afghanistan. In the critical initial phase of these wars, military staffs rather than civil governments guided operations, which were characterized by large-unit sweeps that cleared but then abandoned communities and terrain.[136] Emphasis was on killing and capturing enemy personnel rather then engaging the population. Massive artillery and aerial bombardment were employed in both conflicts with the intent of defeating the enemy forces by attriting them to the point of collapse, an objective which was never reached. Moreover, indigenous armies, although fighting in their own country and more numerous than the foreign forces, were subordinate to the latter.

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[135] Sepp, 11.

[136] Ibid.

The findings in Kalev Sepp's study of 20th-century insurgencies are summarized in the following table.

Table 4.1.   Successful and Unsuccessful Counterinsurgency Practices[137]

Successful	Unsuccessful
- Emphasis on intelligence - Focus on the population, their needs, and security - Secure areas established, expanded - Insurgents isolated from population (population control) - Single authority (charismatic/dynamic leader) - Effective, pervasive psychological operations (PSYOPS) campaigns - Amnesty and rehabilitation for insurgents - Police in lead; military supporting - Police force expanded, diversified - Conventional military forces reoriented for counterinsurgency - Special Forces, advisers embedded with indigenous forces - Insurgent sanctuaries denied	- Primacy of military direction of counterinsurgency - Priority to "kill – capture" enemy, not engaging population - Battalion-size operations as the norm - Military units concentrated on large bases for protection - Special forces focused on raiding - Adviser effort a low priority in personnel assignment - Building, training indigenous army in image of U.S. Army - Peacetime government processes - Open borders, airspace, coastlines

Not surprisingly, Sepp's findings were to a large extent corroborated by the aforementioned study of 43 different insurgencies by Max Manwaring and John Fishel. Their first finding was that military force should not be applied ad hoc in response to either political or military failure, or in an attempt to "try something that might work."[138] Moreover, they argue that if military force must be inserted into a nationalistic milieu, it should be done overwhelmingly from the outset. They also found that probably the best possible use of "foreign" military personnel in a Third World conflict is one variation or another of "train the trainer" role. Their second finding was that to be effective, all support to an incumbent government had to be consistent.[139] Third, their findings

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[137] Sepp, 10.

[138] Manwaring and Fishel, 285.

[139] Manwaring and Fishel, 285.

indicated that the legitimacy dimension is probably the most important internal dimension of a war against subversion. "Thus, a politically strong and legitimate incumbent government is vital to any winning strategy for counterinsurgencies. The legitimacy of the incumbent regime is the primary target – the centre of gravity – as far as the insurgent organization is concerned".[140] However, although legitimacy is the most important internal dimension, it is not the single strongest dimension. Rather support to the Host Country government is.[141] What this implies is that the interaction between the Intervening Power and the Host Government, especially with respect to legitimacy, is critical to counterinsurgency success. Hence they note that "[f]ailure of the Intervening Power to reinforce the Host Government's efforts to attain or enhance its legitimacy probably dooms the counterinsurgency to failure."[142] Their fourth finding was that a major goal of any counterinsurgency effort must be to separate insurgents from sanctuaries and other sources of support.[143] This principle was clearly demonstrated in all the cases examined. Other principles they found to be important included, fifth, "…the concept that intelligence and psychological operations, and population controls must be designed to quickly locate, isolate, and destroy the insurgency."[144] Another principle that their data suggests to be of importance is the need for the incumbent government to foster a well-disciplined, highly professional, motivated security force capable of rapid and decisive actions designed to achieve political as well as military objectives.[145] Finally, the last principle they derived from the data concerns the necessary political/psychological organization that must be established at the highest levels to organize, create, set, and effectively pursue the necessary political objective of the

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[140] Manwaring and Fishel, 285.d.

[141] Ibid., 286.

[142] Ibid.

[143] Ibid.

[144] Ibid.

[145] Ibid., 287.

struggle.[146] This principle, they notes, implies that the principle of unity of command is followed. Moreover, this principle insures that all efforts are focused on the ultimate common goal which is survival.

Although several noted analysts, based on extensive case studies, have derived principles for effective counterinsurgency, it is imperative to bear in mind that as a corollary to every insurgency having its specific characteristics, the government's response has to be tailored to that specific conflict. Hence, these principles' real value is to serve as a guide to be considered when the counterinsurgent devises and implements his response.

C. A SIMPLE MODEL FOR EFFECTIVE COUNTERINSURGENCY

Many models for understanding insurgency and counterinsurgency have been developed. Arguably, one of the more useful ones is the "Mystic Diamond Model" developed by the scholar Gordon H. McCormick.[147] This model is depicted in Figure 4.1.

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[146] Manwaring and Fishel, 287.

[147] This model has not been published by Gordon McCormick, but for a good account of it see, for example: Eric P. Wendt, "Strategic Counterinsurgency Modeling," Special Warfare, September 2005, Vol. 18, No. 2, 2-13; and John R. Dyke and John R. Crisafulli, "Unconventional Counterinsurgency in Afghanistan," Unpublished M.A. thesis, Naval Postgraduate School, June 2006.
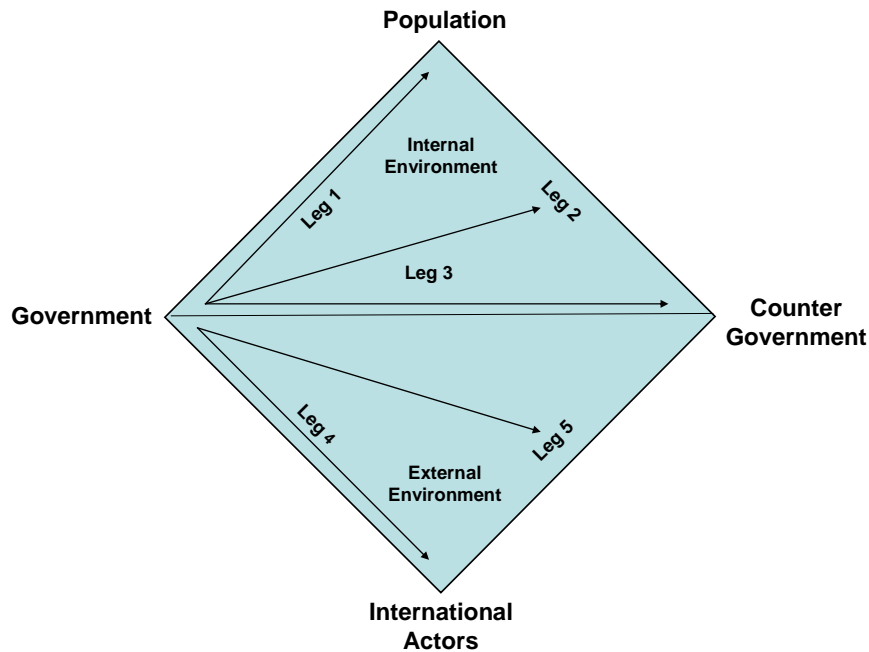
Figure 4.1.   The "Mystic Diamond Model"

This figure illustrates the principal actors in an insurgency, as described in Chapter III. The primary actors are: the government, the population, and the counter government (insurgent organization(s)). Moreover, very often international actors are involved, supporting either side. This model has five legs. As the preceding discussion has demonstrated, in order for a government to successfully counter an insurgency, it must build its legitimacy and control with the population (Leg 1). The government can then turn to lower the insurgent movement's legitimacy and control with the population (Leg 2). It is imperative to note that by building legitimacy and control with the population, the government will acquire the actionable intelligence needed to be effective in capturing or killing members of the insurgent infrastructure. The government can thus turn to applying coercive force against the insurgent infrastructure (Leg 3). It is important to note that in order to be most effective; these strategies should be executed in this sequence. Remember, that in the initial stages of the insurgency there is an asymmetric relationship between the counterinsurgents and the insurgents with regard to information. The former does not know who or where the insurgents are, while the latter knows who

and where the counterinsurgents are. Conventional military forces typically make the mistake of immediately attacking the insurgent infrastructure through kinetic operations before controlling the population (Leg 1) or having broken the insurgents' links to the population (Leg 2). The result is poor intelligence, excessive collateral damage and exhaustion of resources.[148] While attacking legs 1, 2 and 3, the government must determine if the insurgents have external support. If so, the government must build its legitimacy in the eyes of relevant international actors like: other governments, international governmental organizations, non governmental organizations, etc. This is represented by leg 4. Building external legitimacy will thus increase the government's external support from the international community.[149] Finally, the government must also break the links between the outside actor(s) and the insurgents (Leg 5). Although these steps should be implemented sequentially in order to be most efficient; if a "golden opportunity" arises, then such a chance should not be ignored. If, for example, insurgent leaders are identified during step 1, direct action against them could be implemented although normally not used on a large scale until step 3.[150] One should also have in mind that the insurgents, if they are wise, pursue the same steps. Finally, it should be mentioned that if a counterinsurgency is to succeed, it must address all five legs of the diamond.[151]

It can now be instructive to see how this model compares with the findings discussed in the previous section.

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[148] Dyke and Crisafulli, 42.

[149] Wendt, 6.

[150] It is worth noting that leadership targeting seldom has proved very effectively, and in many cases has produced unintentional results. One successful operation, however, was the decapitation of the Peruvian Sendero Luminoso (Shining Path). When acting on intelligence that some of its leaders were gathered for a meeting in a city apartment, the Peruvian police were able capture its entire leadership as they were all gathered at this meeting, effectively dismantling the entire organization.
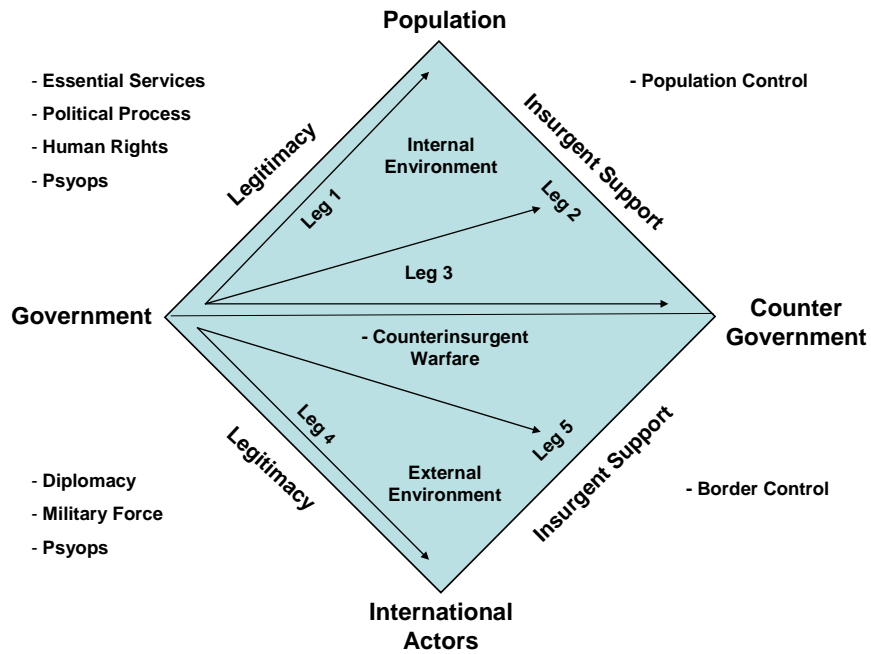
[151] Wendt, 6.

Figure 4.2.   The "Mystic Diamond" compared with "Best Practices"

As Figure 4-2 illustrates, the "Mystic Diamond Model" is in accordance with the "best practices" identified in earlier counterinsurgency case studies. It is now time to put this to good use and investigate what this implies for NORSOF.

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V.   IMPLICATIONS FOR NORSOF

A.   HOW DOES NORSOF'S UNDERSTANDING OF COUNTERINSURGENCY MATCH WITH HISTORIC BEST PRACTICES?

From official sources, very little information is available on NORSOF's contemporary operations or the forces involved.[152] Moreover, details about NORSOF's capabilities are classified.[153] Thus, due to these constraints, the level of detail of this chapter will necessarily be somewhat limited. However, what can be said is that the Norwegian Joint Doctrine defines NORSOF's missions to the following five categories: Special Reconnaissance, Direct Action, Military Assistance, Special Air Operations and Counterterrorism Operations.[154] Special Reconnaissance encompasses collection of information that is of operational or strategic importance.[155] Direct Action encompasses actions like raids, sabotage as well as hostage rescue operations.[156] Military Assistance involves several activities like training, equipping and the possible direction of resistance movements or guerrilla forces. Moreover, it encompasses contributions to stability operations; including capabilities that will enhance own forces' force protection and liaison, or activities that can otherwise enhance the communication between the parties.[157] Special Air Operations are operations with air units that are equipped, organized, and trained for operating independent of or together with special operations forces/conventional forces.[158] Counter Terrorism Operations are measures aimed at reducing the vulnerability of national or allied interests, their forces, personnel and

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[152] Frode Danielsen, "An Asset: The Special Forces", Forsvarsnett (Norwegian Defense [online 20 Apr 2005]).

[153] For an unclassified account of NORSOF's capabilities see: Rødahl and Dokken, 4-13.

[154] Forsvarsstaben, 124.

[155] Ibid., 124.

[156] Ibid., 124-125.

[157] Ibid., 125.

[158] Ibid.

property when attacked by terrorists.[159] NATO, however, defines special operations missions slightly different. According to NATO doctrine, SOF missions are divided into two categories, principal tasks and other activities.[160] The former category includes Special Reconnaissance, Direct Action and Military Assistance. The latter category includes missions like Support to Counter-terrorism and Counterinsurgency; Countering Chemical, Biological, Radiological, and Nuclear Weapons; and Hostage Release Operations.

When discussing NORSOF's missions and roles in counterinsurgency, I also find it instructive to draw on an article by the scholars David Tucker and Christopher J. Lamb, in which they discuss a need for restructuring the U.S. Special Operations Forces.[161] According to Tucker and Lamb, there are primarily two principal modes in which special operations accomplish their tasks: the direct action approach and the indirect approach. The direct approach, according to Tucker and Lamb, brings force *directly* into contact with the enemy, and examples include destroying a key installation (direct action), reconnoitering the installation before the attack (special reconnaissance), and deceiving the enemy so an attack can be carried out (a subset of information operations).[162] The other mode, the indirect approach, works *indirectly* by, with, and through other military forces or civilians to achieve the desired results.[163,164] Using this framework, it seems clear that of the five principal missions defined by the Norwegian Joint Doctrine, only military assistance clearly falls within the indirect approach, which experience has demonstrated is of such crucial importance for successful counterinsurgency.[165]

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[159] Forsvarsstaben, 125.

[160] NATO, Allied Joint Doctrine for Special Operations AJP-3.5 (Second Study Draft), 2-1 – 2-4.

[161] David Tucker and Christopher J. Lamb, "Restructuring Special Operations Forces for Emerging Threats", *Strategic Forum*, no. 219 (January 2006), (National Defense University [online 20 April 2008]): 1-6.

[162] Ibid., 1.

[163] Ibid.

[164] It is imperative to note that the indirect approach does include violent actions against an enemy though primarily executed by, with, and through indigenous forces.

[165] For a more detailed discussion of NORSOF's missions and roles, see: Robertsen; and Rødahl & Dokken.

Although little has been released on NORSOF's participation in international operations, it is probably fair to assume that NORSOF has been utilized within its traditional domain, which is within the spectrum of direct action capabilities.[166] The primary reason for this assumption is that NORSOF, according to Tom Robertsen, traditionally has focused on direct action rather than indirect action capabilities. Both MJK and FSK/HJK, which constitute the majority of NORSOF, were founded during the Cold War when defense of Norwegian territory was the primary role for the NAF and hence for NORSOF. In a war on national territory, indirect capabilities are less applicable than direct action capabilities, and thus the primary focus was on the latter. Implicit in this argument, however, is that this change from primarily direct action capabilities to also possessing indirect capabilities either is a result of a deliberate choice or that NORSOF has been less successful in making this transition. The former can be as a result of a perceived need for NORSOF to mainly focus on missions typically undertaken by, for example, American special mission units and certain other units like the British SBS and SAS or the French GIGN, to mention a few. As for the latter view, that NORSOF has not been able to change focus according to the changing security environment, if this holds true, this may be understandable as many countries have experienced the same problem.[167] However, whatever the reason for this lack of NORSOF's indirect capabilities, the point being made here is that for NORSOF to be a flexible and relevant force that can also effectively bring force to bear in operations at the lower end of the conflict spectrum, and thus be an effective instrument of Norwegian foreign and security policy, NORSOF also needs to possess indirect capabilities. To put my argument succinctly, NORSOF needs to be able to carry out operations utilizing both direct action capabilities as well as indirect action capabilities.

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[166] See Robertsen, 43.

[167] Arguably, one exception is the British Army which mainly has been involved in "small wars" and thus has developed a culture that has made it equally suitable for counterinsurgency. For a discussion of the British military culture and counterinsurgency see: Robert M. Cassidy, "The British Army and Counterinsurgency: The Salience of Military Culture," *Military Review*, May – June 2005, 53-59. For a general discussion of a direct versus indirect approach see for example: Luttwak, 333-342. For a discussion of the U.S. approach in Iraq, see for example: Aylwin-Foster, 2-15. Aylwin-Foster criticizes the U.S. Army's tendency to place to much emphasis on offensive approaches to destroying Iraqi insurgents in later phases of OIF.

Increasing the emphasis on indirect capabilities, however, will require increased emphasis on the social, political, and cultural aspects of a conflict. This again must be embedded in the chosen strategy.[168] In the following section, some of the implications this entails for NORSOF will be discussed. However, it is important to note that applying and utilizing indirect force capabilities effectively require prior training and mental preparation. This is not acquired overnight, although this is a common misperception.[169]

B. WHAT CHANGES CAN BE MADE THAT WILL ENHANCE NORSOF'S EFFICACY IN COUNTERINSURGENCY OPERATIONS?

Arguably, there are many changes that can be made that will enhance NORSOF's efficacy in counterinsurgency operations. It is, however, not feasible to discuss all of them in this study, and, hence, only those changes that this author find most salient will be discussed in the following sections.

It is commonly known and accepted that good intelligence is the foundation for any successful military operation and for special operations in particular. What is less known, however, is that counterinsurgency operations are even more reliant upon timely and accurate intelligence than most other types of military operations. Remember, that usually the only thing that keeps the counterinsurgents from crushing the insurgents (at least in the incipient phase), is that they do not know who or where the insurgents are. Accurate and timely intelligence therefore becomes paramount for successful counterinsurgency. The British General Frank Kitson, himself a seasoned counterinsurgent with experience from insurgency campaigns in Kenya, Malaya, Oman, Cyprus, and Northern Ireland, noted for example that: "The problem of destroying enemy armed groups and their supporters therefore consists very largely on finding them. Once found they can no longer strike on their own terms but are obliged to dance to the tune of the government's forces."[170] In the foreword to Kitson's book, General Sir Michael Carver noted that: "The necessity for the intimate integration of intelligence and

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[168] Robertsen, 76.

[169] Ibid.

[170] Kitson, 95.

operations is his most important lesson and the one least appreciated by the conventional soldier." Although this was written almost 40 years ago, experience has demonstrated that very often this holds true even today. It is also imperative to note that counterinsurgency operations also call for a slightly different kind of intelligence, as a result of the importance of the population. These two factors are often overlooked by the novice counterinsurgent.

The Norwegian Joint Doctrine, for example, affords a good example of the "traditional" view of the kind of intelligence that Special Operations Forces need when it advises that: "Special operations demands comprehensive information about the adversary, geography and weather conditions,"[171] thus effectively leaving out the most important factor in a counterinsurgency, the population. Arguably, Roger Trinquier captured the essence of this problem more than 40 years ago when he noted that: "Military schools teaching classic doctrines of warfare rely upon a number of decision factors – the mission, the enemy, the terrain, and the resources. But one factor that is essential to the conduct of [insurgent warfare] is omitted – the inhabitant."[172] If the Norwegian Joint Doctrine gives a reasonably accurate picture of NORSOF's intelligence focus, and this author believes it does, then NORSOF needs to also include the population as a factor that needs to be more emphasized when for example developing intelligence products like "Intelligence Preparation of the Battlefield," and, moreover, as a general source of information. Likewise, the population's importance with regard intelligence requirements needs to be revised accordingly.

Concerning the importance and role of intelligence in counterinsurgency, the new U.S. Army and Marine Corps Counterinsurgency manual, for example, notes that:

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[171] Forsvarsstaben, 126.

[172] Trinquier, 27.

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Counterinsurgency (COIN) is an intelligence-driven endeavor. The function of intelligence in COIN is to facilitate understanding of the operational environment, with emphasis on the populace, host nation, and insurgents. Commanders require accurate intelligence about these three areas to best address the issues driving the insurgency. Both insurgents and counterinsurgents require an effective intelligence capability to be successful. Both attempt to create and maintain intelligence networks while trying to neutralize their opponent's intelligence capabilities.[173]

As the preceding discussion implies, NORSOF's operations must be driven by intelligence.[174] Having said that, it is also important to note that intelligence and operations feed each other. Effective intelligence drives effective operations; effective operations produce information, which generate more intelligence. Likewise, ineffective or inaccurate intelligence produces ineffective operations, which produce the opposite results.[175] It also implies that intelligence in counterinsurgency is about people. NORSOF must therefore understand the people of the host nation, the insurgents, and the host nation government. Experience has also demonstrated that every counterinsurgent collects information whenever he or she is in contact with the population. It is also worth mentioning that insurgencies are local; they vary greatly in time and space. This implies that the insurgency one unit faces will often be different from that faced by an adjacent unit. The mosaic nature of insurgencies, coupled with the fact that every soldier is a potential intelligence collector, means that all echelons both produce and consume intelligence. This situation results in a bottom-flow of intelligence.[176] It is also worth mentioning that Kitson advises that there are generally two types of information collection processes. "The first one consists of collecting background information, and the second involves developing it into contact information."[177] As a corollary to the abovementioned, although fairly obvious, NORSOF must constantly seek to collect

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[173] DA FM 3-24. The U.S. Army and Marine Corps Counterinsurgency Field Manual, 79-80.

[174] For a useful discussion of how to integrate intelligence with operations, see for example: Mike Erwin, "Integrating Intelligence With Operations," *Special Warfare*, January – February 2008, 10-15: for a usefull discussion of how to operationalize intelligence, see for example: William G. Boykin and Scott Swanson, "Operationalizing Intelligence," *Special Warfare*, May – June 2008, 23-24.

[175] DA FM 3-24. The U.S. Army and Marine Corps Counterinsurgency Field Manual, 80.

[176] Ibid.

[177] Kitson, 96.

information that can produce intelligence.[178] This information must be both background information and contact information; and for use in NORSOF's own operations and for other forces' operations.

As previously mentioned, successful counterinsurgency normally implies that in general an indirect approach and non-kinetic operations are more effective and efficient than a direct approach that emphasizes kinetic operations, and moreover, that counterinsurgency requires a special type of intelligence. Arguably, a promising concept in this regard, is what Joel W. Thomas has labeled "indirect intelligence."[179] Indirect intelligence as defined by Thomas is " …information gathered on a specific community that provides operators and planners detailed information on the individuals, networks, emotions, motives and objective reasoning of that community as opposed to "direct" intelligence which is solely focused on gathering information on the adversary."[180] The purpose of indirect intelligence, according to Thomas, is to seek out detailed information on the target audience (population) that can be used to: 1) influence the emotions, motives, and behavior of the target audience; 2) identify key individuals and social networks; and 3) expose the enemy through reverse network mapping. Thus, the rationale behind the indirect intelligence follows the same logic as the indirect approach of the Mystic Diamond Model: by using the information provided by indirect intelligence to influence the population, information on the enemy will become readily available and easily attainable.[181] There are two main reasons, according to Thomas, for indirect intelligence being more appropriate than "direct intelligence" (which focuses strictly on the insurgents). First, in an insurgent environment, as suggested by Kitson, the adversary's inherent mode of operation provides very little information that can be collected or acted upon. Frank Kitson, for example, asserts that: "…the sort of

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[178] For a instructive discussion of how to collect intelligence in a counterinsurgent environment, see for example: Kitson, 95-131. Kitson drew upon his vast experience as a counterinsurgent when he wrote this chapter. The necessity for the intimate integration of intelligence and operations is Kitson's most important lesson.

[179] Joel W. Thomas. "Indirect Intelligence for and Indirect Approach: Intelligence in an Unconventional Warfare Environment." Unpublished paper, Naval Postgraduate School, 2005, 1-10.

[180] Ibid., 1.

[181] Ibid., 2.

information required cannot, except on rare occasions, be provided on a plate by anyone, not even by the intelligence organization. If there was a system whereby the intelligence organization could do this, it would have been devised years ago…"[182] Second, the type of information that indirect intelligence seeks out, information on the target audience, is readily available and easily collected (given that you have access to the community). This information can be gathered through social interaction with the target audience and by conducting un-intrusive censuses amongst the community.

As a corollary to the ultimate objective of indirect intelligence being to expose the adversary so that they can be captured or killed, Thomas suggests there are three supporting objectives that serve to focus the type of information needed and the collection methods that indirect intelligence needs. The first supporting objective is to gain information that will allow you to influence the emotions, motives, and behavior of the target audience.[183] This is important as this amounts to a type of control that will have little flash back and yet have long lasting effects in comparison to a purely kinetic means of control. In order to do this, Thomas notes, a message must address the needs, motives, and objective reasoning of the population. This again, requires in-dept information that can only be provided through social interaction amongst the population and information produced from the indirect intelligence census approach. Although these methods provide an even more indirect route to the adversary, they will create a longer lasting impression on the population about the intentions and perceptions of the forces involved, as well as provide information that the operators can continually use to build rapport through the community.[184]

The second objective, according to Thomas, is to identify key personnel and networks that can be utilized to propagate the message throughout the community.[185] Key personnel as defined by Thomas, is 1) people who have enough influence within a community that can mobilize others to action; 2) people who are well connected

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[182] Kitson, 95.

[183] Thomas, 4.

[184] Ibid., 4-5.

[185] Ibid., 5.

throughout the community; 3) people who others tend to seek out for information and knowledge on a wide spectrum of topics.[186] Identification of social networks are important as they possess an organization and infrastructure (communication lines) that will allow for the dissemination of a given influence message, and, moreover, as social networks inherently possess a status influence equivalent to peer pressure, where once an idea is accepted by key personnel in the group, others will be reluctant to oppose it. Thomas' point with this objective is that identifying key personnel and social networks will provide a clear picture of who belongs in the community and who does not, resulting in a reverse network map of the enemy and its active supporters.

This takes us to the third objective which is reverse network mapping of the enemy and its active supporters. This is an indirect approach to mapping an insurgent group and its base of support within a local community. "By utilizing techniques, technologies and methods used to map a terrorist or insurgent network on the population of a specific community," Thomas notes, "in theory the insurgents and their networks will be revealed."[187] This network mapping, of course, is enhanced by the use of various software developed for social network mapping. Reverse networking, according to Thomas,

> …is similar to putting a puzzle together under the following conditions: 1) given a box filled with pieces to a puzzle along with a few similar pieces that don't belong to this particular puzzle, 2) the task is to identify the pieces that don't belong in the box. There may be several strategies to accomplish this task but the surest way to find the pieces that don't belong, is to put the puzzle together and see what pieces are left rather than searching through the entire box for individual pieces about which you have little information.[188]

The indirect intelligence concept's merits, as suggested by Thomas, are that by knowing both the population and all the relationships within that community, one starts to reduce the information advantage that the insurgents have over the counterinsurgents. Moreover, by virtue of knowing occupations, status, and positions within the community

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[186] Thomas, 6.

[187] Ibid., 7.

[188] Ibid., 8.

the counterinsurgent will be aware of who is best suited to support the insurgents or, conversely, know who the enemy is most likely to target for support.

It is also imperative to note that NORSOF, because of the complexity inherent in any counterinsurgency, must have access to "all source intelligence." Moreover, NORSOF itself must possess as many all source intelligence collection capabilities as possible. Especially important in this regard, as pointed out by Aylwin-Foster, is the importance of human intelligence (HUMINT).[189] The U.S. forces in Iraq, according to Aylwin-Foster, initially put relatively little emphasis on HUMINT:

> …concentrating instead on using technological assets to gather intelligence, the significance being that the latter can serve to keep the troops separated from the local population. This assists force protection, in the short term, particularly in an environment where suicide bombers are the major threat, but it equally helps encourage the local sentiment that the troops are a distant, impersonal occupying force which has no interest in the population. It denies one avenue for nurturing popular support.[190]

To put my argument succinctly, NORSOF in addition to focus on direct intelligence must also emphasize indirect intelligence. This is based on the fact that the inhabitants will know the insurgents since they suffer terribly from their activities.[191] By first focusing on the population, leads that will eventually lead to the insurgents and their support base will be exposed. Consequently, NORSOF will have actionable intelligence which either NORSOF or other forces can put to good use. Thus, the possibility of collateral damage as a result of poor or faulty intelligence which again can result in alienating the population will decrease.

This brings us to the next implication for NORSOF, the need for gaining popular support through strengthening the host nation's security forces. As discussed in the preceding chapter, a prerequisite for successful counterinsurgency is that the government is perceived as legitimate by the population. An important foundation for this legitimacy is that the government institutions are able to provide security and other essential services

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[189] See also: Erwin, 11.

[190] Aylwin-Foster, 6.

[191] Trinquier, 31.

to the population. Thus, the need for the incumbent government to foster a well-disciplined, highly professional, motivated security force capable of rapid and decisive actions designed to achieve political as well as military objectives is key to success. Moreover, by strengthening the host nation's security forces, the regime will be better positioned to control the situation themselves, and thus be less dependent on outside support.

In Norwegian and NATO doctrines, this effort is defined as Military Assistance (MA) and in U.S. doctrines it is defined as Foreign Internal Defense (FID). Although the Norwegian definition of MA implies that special operations can involve military assistance to allied or other countries in peace, crisis and armed conflict, it differs from NATO's definition. The Norwegian definition focuses on equipping, training and possible direction of resistance and guerrilla forces; and establishing and supporting networks that hide personnel or help them escape.[192] Support to stabilization operations is also included. NATO's definition is more in line with the U.S. definition of FID.[193] NATO's Allied Doctrine for Special Operations, AJP-3.5, defines MA as:

> …a broad spectrum of measures in support of friendly forces in peace, crisis, and conflict. MA can be conducted by, with, or through friendly forces that are trained, equipped, supported, or employed in varying degrees by SOF. The range of MA is thus considerable, and may vary from providing low-level military training or material assistance to the active employment of indigenous forces in the conduct of major operations….[194]

AJP-3.5 further advises that MA may include the following: "Host Nation Military Assistance" and "Population Security." The former is operations focused on training "…host nation military individuals and units…" while the latter is "…operations that strengthen population security by providing supervision of tactical operations by HN

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[192] Forsvarsstaben, 125.

[193] U.S. Doctrine defines FID as: "Participation by civilian and military agencies of a government in any of the action programs taken by another government to free and protect from subversion, lawlessness and insurgency." Joint Publication 1-02, DOD Dictionary of Military Terms, 1-84.

[194] NATO, *Allied Joint Doctrine for Special Operations, AJP-3,5*, 2-2 – 2-3.

[host nation] military units to…"[195] The aim of Host Nation Military Assistance is to enable "…a HN to protect itself from subversion, lawlessness, and insurgency, and to develop individual, leader, and organizational skills."[196] The aim of Population Security is "…to neutralize and destroy insurgent threats, isolate insurgents from the civil population, and protect the civil population."[197]

Based on this, this author will argue that the Norwegian definition of MA is less adequate than NATO's definition as it focuses more on "behind the lines" operations suitable for the Cold War era and less on strengthening host nation institutions and forces which recent experience has proved to be of such importance. Consequently, the Norwegian Joint Doctrine's definition of MA should be superseded by NATO's definition of MA.

It is now germane to this discussion to turn to the question of what the abovementioned implies for NORSOF in terms of operational requirements. It should now be clear that strengthening a host nation's institutions and security forces is both imperative for successful counterinsurgency, and, moreover, that MA can be a proper mission for NORSOF. A third reason why NORSOF should possess MA capabilities can be found in the fact that operational guidelines may require it, as for example the later stages of the Afghan insurgency reminds us about. As a corollary to the establishment of an elected Afghan government, following the toppling of the Taliban regime in December 2001, and the subsequent effort at building up viable Afghan institutions perceived as legitimate by the population, the Afghan government has in later years instructed that Afghan security forces have to accompany coalition forces on certain missions. This would for instance typically be missions where the coalition forces intend on searching Afghan homes, or missions that includes the intended use of force. Consequently, in order for NORSOF to be able to conduct all types of special operations missions, some circumstances may require that NORSOF has to work by, through and with host nation security forces.

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[195] NATO, *Allied Joint Doctrine for Special Operations, AJP-3,5,* 2-3.

[196] Ibid., 2-3.

[197] Ibid.

This being said, historically, MA and FID have been the subjects of much controversy. Many have raised questions whether they are a proper special operations missions or whether it is efficient use of special operations forces. Consequently, MA and FID have been emphasized differently by different countries. Detractors of MA could thus argue that training host nation conventional forces is not efficient use of NORSOF. Given that conventional forces trained in the conduct of MA are available, this argument has merit. However, conventional forces are not always available and thus special operations forces may be the only one capable of such a task. Moreover, in some cases MA involves training host nation special operations forces, and who is better suited for that task than another special operations force? It could also be argued that if there is an operational requirement for NORSOF to conduct MA, this can sometimes best be conducted by NORSOF's combat support element,[198] thus freeing NORSOF's operational elements from training indigenous forces leaving them available for other missions or the employment of already trained indigenous forces. This, of course, requires that this combat support element is trained in MA. In short, NORSOF should be prepared to conduct MA if it is operationally required as its goal is to protect and increase the legitimacy of the host nation government.

It seems reasonable to infer, that as a result of NORSOF having mainly focused on the insurgent forces, less attention has been paid to the indigenous government forces. This being said, the important question is not how much NORSOF has focused on MA earlier but what its current and future MA capabilities and willingness to undertake such missions are. As experience has demonstrated, and as pointed out by various analysts, MA capabilities are not acquired overnight.[199] If NORSOF has not already developed these capabilities it should seek to acquire them immediately, and more importantly, seek to conduct MA when in a counterinsurgency environment if required.

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[198] This form of combat support refers to the use of for example the Norwegian Coastal Ranger Unit which is an operational unit that on several occasions has supported NORSOF.

[199] Robertsen, 76.

When discussing MA, this author find it appropriate do distinguish between the MA as conducted by a unit or parts of a unit and MA conducted on a more individual basis. By the latter I mean providing advice on a more personal level. For the purpose of this study, I will call this "advising." This type of MA (I consider it a subcategory of MA) has been utilized by several countries with great success. Instructive on this point is for example Edward Geary Lansdale, a U.S. Air Force colonel (later major general), who in 1950 was sent to the Philippines as an advisor following the outbreak of the Hukbalahap rebellion. Lansdale quickly became personal advisor to Raymond Magsasay, the Philippine Secretary of Defense (who in 1953 was elected president). Partly because of Lansdale's operational experience as an Office of the Strategic Services (OSS) agent during the Second World War, and partly because of the strong rapport he was able to build with Secretary Magsaysay, Lansdale effectively advised Magsaysay when he devised and implemented his program of counterinsurgency based on land reform, grass root democracy, and elimination of corruption in the Philippine Army, which should prove so effective.[200]

I will therefore argue that in the future, advising can also be a niche for NORSOF personnel because of the operational counterinsurgency experience this personnel has acquired. Upon request by a host nation, by assigning an individual or a small group of individuals as advisors, Norway can assist a country facing an insurgency. One possible solution can be to send a small team of advisors with cross-sector competence from for example the military, judicial, legislative and police sectors, to mention a few, that can provide advice on how to devise and implement sound counterinsurgency measures that meet the local needs. This, of course, would first of all require that the advisors know the subjects at hand, how to conduct counterinsurgency and how to advice, neither of which history has demonstrated are commonly held attributes. The point being made here, is that Norway by providing a small number of advisors that can advice at the proper level and within an area in which they have expertise, for example the military response, can help a government combating an insurgency with its own forces in an effective and

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[200] O'Neill, 173. For an account, although very subjective, of Lansdale's advisory missions to the Philippines and Vietnam, see: Edward Geary Lansdale, *In the Midst of Wars: An American's Mission to Southeast Asia* (New York: Fordham University Press, 1991).

efficient way. An added bonus of having this capability is that Norway can assist a foreign country without necessarily having to contribute a large contingent of Norwegian personnel. Moreover, by conducting MA and advising, NORSOF not only strengthens the host nation's capability to physically deal with the insurgency, but is also likely to increase the population's confidence in their own government, which is so crucial in counterinsurgency. This leads us to the third major implication for NORSOF, the need to understand the importance of influencing the population.

As earlier noted, winning the hearts and minds of the population is usually the crux of sound counterinsurgency. Consequently, the government must act in a way that limits the insurgents influence over the population while enhancing its own influence. One effective means of influencing the population (and the insurgents) is psychological operations (PSYOP), which by nature seeks to persuade by nonviolent means. Thus, effective, pervasive PSYOP are identified as crucial in this effort and need to be exploited, as suggested by the earlier mentioned findings of Kalev Sepp and Max Manwaring & John Fishel. "Psychological warfare," General Richard G. Stilwell explains, "seeks to achieve the objective where military force is unavailable or inappropriate, or where it can combine with the military to minimize expenditures while maximizing effects."[201]   Instructive on this point, however, is also Frank Kitson's observation that:

> All too often successful government action in the civil and military field is rendered completely useless because the machinery for exploiting success in the minds of the people is non-existent. At the same time the enemy who have suffered the reverse in fact, are able to nullify it, or even turn it to their advantage in the minds of the people, because they have the means of getting their version of events across.[202]

It is also imperative to have in mind, as discussed in Chapter III that the insurgents usually rely heavily on portraying the incumbent regime as illegitimate and incapable of governing the people. Consequently, the insurgents often depend on creating

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[201] Richard G. Stilwell, "Political-Psychological Dimensions of Counterinsurgency," in Frank L. Goldstein ed.: *Psychological Operations: Principles and Case Studies* (Maxwell Air Force Base, Alabama: Air University Press, 1996), pp. 319-320.

[202] Kitson, 78.

narratives that frame the conflict according to their view, and, moreover, serve as a justification for their own actions.[203] From this one can derive that to defeat the insurgents' narratives the counterinsurgents must generate a strong counter narrative.[204] It is therefore true to say, as Frank Kitson does, that: "…it is in men's minds that wars of subversion have to be fought and decided."[205]

The point being made here is that NORSOF needs to understand the importance of PSYOP[206] and when possible, to the greatest extent possible use PSYOP when conducting its own operations. This is not to say that NORSOF must focus its operations solely on PSYOP but more that NORSOF should seek to implement PSYOP as one of its lines of operations when conducting counterinsurgency. However, as Norway has a very limited PSYOP capability, utilizing Norwegian PSYOP assets in larger scale is not feasible. Emphasis should therefore be laid on utilizing other nation's capabilities when they are available and deemed necessary. Another avenue implies that some NORSOF personnel receive adequate PSYOP training and thus can integrate PSYOP in NORSOF's operations.

It should also be mentioned that NORSOF, when operating overtly in an area, either when, for example, conducting population control measures such as vehicle check points or when interviewing people for intelligence purposes, NORSOF by its mere presence and actions conveys a message to the population and possible insurgents. Consequently, this should be understood, and, moreover, NORSOF should then seek to convey a message which is in accordance with the overall PSYOP campaign for this area or conflict, thus ensuring that NORSOF conveys the "right" message. As a corollary to

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[203] For a discussion of the role of the narrative, see for example: Montgomery McFate and Andrea V. Jackson, "The Object Beyond War: Counterinsurgency and the Four Tools of Political Competition," *Military Review*, January – February 2006, 18-20; and, Mohammed M. Hafez, *From Marginalization to Massacres, in Islamic Activism: A Social Movement Theory Approach*. Edited by Quintan Wiktorowicz (Bloomington, Indiana: Indiana University Press, 2004), 37-60.

[204] McFate and Jackson, 20.

[205] Kitson, 31.

[206] PSYOPS, according to the Norwegian Joint Doctrine, is a subset of Information Operations and is defined as operations aimed at "…influencing understandings, attitudes and behavior and thus achieve desired political and military effects. Active influencing can take place either covertly or overtly – in peace, crisis and armed conflict. Forsvarsstaben, 137.

this, it is imperative that NORSOF planners and operators have a clear understanding of what PSYOP is and how to use it efficiently so that the desired political and military effects are achieved. In this regard, it should also be noted that the foundation for any successful PSYOP is a deep understanding of the target population's culture, values and beliefs. This leads us to the next and final major implication for NORSOF, the need for deep cultural understanding and awareness.

It should go without saying, that because counterinsurgency is about winning the allegiance of the population, cultural understanding and awareness are at the hearth of the matter. Consequently, cultural awareness and understanding are germane to all the aforementioned implications. First, how is it possible to collect information and develop it into precise intelligence without having insight into cultures, perceptions, values, beliefs, interests and decision-making processes of individuals and groups? Second, how can NORSOF train, advice or employ indigenous forces without a deep understanding of their culture, traditions, values or interests? Finally, how can one hope to positively influence someone without having a profound knowledge of their country, culture, customs, traditions, beliefs, et cetera? The obvious answer to these questions is that cultural understanding and awareness do matter, and if not properly understood can lead to less effective operations or may even result in them having the adverse affect by for example alienating the population. In short, cultural understanding is imperative when deciding what actions will have the greatest effect.

That cultural understanding and awareness are important have long been understood, as illustrated by the fact that it is a mandatory subject during any pre-deployment work-up of any Norwegian units. However, this does not necessarily imply that cultural awareness and understanding are emphasized enough. This author will argue that such pre-deployment training only serves as an "introduction" to the subject and is not enough to build up the necessary competence. Having said this, it should also be noted that some of NORSOF's personnel have acquired considerable expertise within this field due to several deployments to various cultural environments. This should be exploited, and this expertise as well as more scholarly expertise, represented by for example regional experts, sociologists and cultural anthropologists, should be utilized to

develop a better and deeper cultural understanding than what is currently the case. Cultural awareness and understanding should thus be implemented on a more regularly basis in NORSOF's training and exercises, which to this author's knowledge is not being done today. It should also be considered to differentiate this training so that some staff personnel and operators are being specialized within this field in order to gain an even deeper cultural knowledge. In addition to this, it should also be considered to actively recruit more Norwegians of foreign decent into NORSOF, especially from areas where NORSOF is likely to operate in the future. To sum up my arguments, cultural awareness and understanding are of utmost importance when conducting counterinsurgency operations. Moreover, the better and deeper NORSOF's cultural understanding and awareness are, the greater the chances of success.

Having discussed some of the implications that counterinsurgency entails for NORSOF, this begs the question of what NORSOF's limitations regarding such operations are.

C. WHAT ARE THE LIMITATIONS CONCERNING NORSOF'S ROLES OR CAPABILITIES REGARDING COUNTERINSURGENCY?

When answering this question, one should have in mind that a sound counterinsurgency response is one that encompasses a wide range of civil and military programs, but where the latter is subjugated to and supporting the civilian effort. Thus, counterinsurgency demands the seamless integration of informational, political, social, cultural, law enforcement, economic, military, and intelligence activities. As a corollary to this, the military response is only one component, though an essential one. Likewise, counterinsurgency is usually a personnel intensive enterprise. The number of counterinsurgents in relation to the number of insurgents has to be high as it usually takes a large number of security forces to provide the necessary security and thus establish the regime's legitimacy. The essence, as many analysts have noted, is to have as many security forces as possible embedded in the local community and constantly patrolling it for the population to feel secure and thus give their allegiance to the government.[207]

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[207] O'Neill, 162; and Galula, 57.

As a corollary to the aforementioned, it seems reasonable to argue that NORSOF's role in any counterinsurgency campaign inherently will be limited. This limitation is arguably a result of three factors. First, the military and thus special operations forces are only one component of the government response. Second, because NORSOF lacks crucial capabilities like PSYOP, CIMIC, engineering, and the like, NORSOF will thus not be able to provide all the necessary military capabilities. Third, because NORSOF, as most special operations units, has strict acceptance criteria, NORSOF can only field a relatively small force compared to conventional forces. Accordingly, it is probably fair to summarize that NORSOF and its operations will have to be complemented by other means and forces. Moreover, of the same reasons, NORSOF should therefore not be considered a panacea for counterinsurgency.

NORSOF's relatively small size compared to conventional forces also results in another limitation – continuity. When NORSOF deploys, it is usually for a very limited time period, measured in months rather than years. Concerning the need for continuity in counterinsurgency, Frank Kitson, for example, advises that: "One of the main factors is continuity, and a platoon or company which can stay in the same region for a long time is worth several times as many men who are constantly moved from one place to another, because the contacts and background knowledge which the stationary troops can build up in a particular area."[208] Consequently, when deploying NORSOF, it should be for the longest period possible.

D.   CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Based on the preceding discussion, I will argue that my initial hypothesis - that NORSOF is less than optimally suited for counterinsurgency operations – is correct. NORSOF's capabilities are therefore not consistent with today's security environment which is characterized more by unorthodox threats like for example insurgencies, international terrorism, etc., and less by "conventional" wars between nation states. Given the prevalence of insurgent conflicts and that the Norwegian government has expressed that its armed forces must be prepared to contribute effectively to various

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[208] Kitson, 92.

multinational peace operations, and, moreover, that NORSOF is a strategic asset, it should be clear that there is need for a NORSOF counterinsurgency capability. When examining how NORSOF's understanding of counterinsurgency matches with historic best practices, this author asserts that NORSOF has mainly focused on a direct approach and kinetic operations while focusing less on an indirect approach and non-kinetic operations. Consequently, NORSOF is less than optimally suited for counterinsurgency operations. By also emphasizing the indirect approach; NORSOF's efficacy will be further enhanced. Moreover, when comparing historic best practices with NORSOF's current practices several implications can be drawn. First, good intelligence is the foundation for any sound counterinsurgency. NORSOF, having already recognized this, should, however, in addition to focus mainly on the insurgents also focus more on the population. Thus, NORSOF can gain intelligence that can lead to the insurgents and their support base. Second, NORSOF in addition to Special Reconnaissance and Direct Action missions should put more emphasis on Military Assistance like training and/or employing host nation security forces, or advising the host nation on how to best implement its counterinsurgency measures. Not only will this lead to the host nation government increasing its legitimacy, it will also increase the government's ability to effectively govern its own country. Third, NORSOF has to understand the importance of PSYOP and take it into consideration when planning and conducting its operations. This as effective PSYOP is complementary to other counterinsurgency measures, and, moreover, is an important tool for winning the hearts and minds of the population. Fourth, NORSOF needs to develop a deeper and better cultural awareness and understanding, as this is the foundation for any of the three aforementioned implications. This field have until now not received the necessary attention by NORSOF. This study also finds that although NORSOF can play an important role in combating an insurgency, there are also some limitations concerning NORSOF's roles or capabilities. These limitations are partly a result of the inherent limitations of military force but also a result of a lack of capabilities within NORSOF itself.

Accordingly, the first recommendation would therefore be that the implications discussed earlier in this chapter are taken into consideration and implemented. Not only

will this make NORSOF more optimally suited for counterinsurgency operations, it will also make NORSOF more relevant for other types of irregular warfare like counterterrorism, counter proliferation, counter smuggling operations, and the like. This as a corollary to these types of operations having many of the same requirements as counterinsurgency operations.

Classical counterinsurgency, as mentioned earlier, is based upon a systems approach. It seeks to identify key processes in an insurgent system and coordinate countermeasures at the systemic level. The field of Complexity theory, however, offers fresh possibilities. Complexity theory takes this understanding further by showing that social systems (and hence, insurgencies) are organic systems. Consequently, Complexity theory and how it affects NORSOF is a subject that merits further study.[209]

As mentioned in the introduction, this study only discusses the implications counterinsurgency operations have for NORSOF. Given that the study of these types of operations has received little attention in Norway, more research should be done to investigate how irregular warfare in general and counterinsurgency operations specifically affects the NAF. Further study is necessary to determine how Norwegian forces fit into the larger picture of counterinsurgency and how they best can cooperate with the other military and civilian actors in such a conflict.

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[209] For an example of how to use Comlexity theory against the al-Quaeda network see: David Kilcullen, "Countering Global Insurgency," *Small Wars Journal*, 30 November 2004 [Journal online]; Available from http://smallwarsjournal.com/documents/kilcullen.pdf; Internet; accessed 7 May 2008.

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